

Max J. Friedländer  
Early Netherlandish  
Painting

Joos van Cleve,  
Jan Provost,  
Joachim Patenier

## Early Netherlandish Painting

'This new edition, translated from the German, brought up-to-date in some respects and augmented by about two-thousand new illustrations, will not so much revive (which would not be necessary) as make more readily accessible, more useful and, if only by way of comparison with the original, more pleasurable one of the few uncontested masterpieces produced by our discipline. These fourteen volumes—their publication begun at Berlin in 1924 and, after the appearance of Vol. XI in 1933, continued at Leyden from 1935 to 1937—summarize and conclusively formulate what M. J. Friedländer knew and thought about a field which he, with only Ludwig Scheibler and Georges Hulin de Loo to share his pioneering efforts, had been the first to survey and to cultivate. And what M. J. Friedländer then knew and thought will never cease to be worth learning.' (From the Preface by E. Panofsky)



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Jan Provost, Joachim Patenier

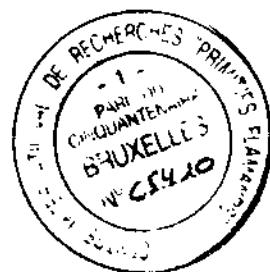
Max J. Friedländer

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VOLUME IX

PART I

Max J. Friedländer



Joos van Cleve, Jan Provost,  
Joachim Patenier

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# Table of contents

## PART I

7

- 9 Foreword
- 11 Jan Joest
- 17 Joos van Cleve, the Master of the Death of the Virgin
- 22 Joos van Cleve—His Devotional Pictures—His Development
- 33 The Portraits of Joos van Cleve
- 34 The Master's Youth and Old Age
- 43 The Imitators of Joos van Cleve
- 45 The Character of Joos van Cleve
- 48 Supplement to Jan Joest (from Volume XIV)
- 49 Cornelis van Cleve (from Volume XIV)
- 51 The Catalogues
- 75 Plates

## Foreword

In this volume, I speak of Jan Joest, Joos van Cleve, Provost and Patenier, without forcing these figures into a single mould. It is true that by focussing on the exchange of forces between the rival town of Bruges and Antwerp, I might have brought order to many observations, thus unifying my text. Baldass conceived the notion that Joos van Cleve was active in Bruges prior to 1511 and Patenier before 1515, and he adduced much stylistic 'proof' to that end. He maintains that their productive and influential work in Antwerp was preceded by a period of training in Bruges, where they were exposed to many influences themselves. This is certainly a useful working hypothesis that serves to explain many things. Yet enough remains that cannot be explained in this way. The painters' points of origin—Wesel, Cleve, Dinant—lie in obscurity; and we are afraid we should be hindering future efforts to throw light on them, if we concentrated wholly on those marketplaces of the mind, Bruges and Antwerp.

One of these masters may take up more space than another. Just how much, is, of course, dependent on the volume of the available data; but the historian, in his endeavour to do justice to his subjects, will also go into more detail, or less, as the case warrants. Again, their importance will rise or fall, according to the criteria that are applied. Joos van Cleve was a successful painter. The long period of his work and its scene contributed towards gaining it stature and currency. Antwerp was a great marketplace, the port of origin of a great export trade. If we are after a history of the prevalent art forms, Joos necessarily comes to the fore. To the French, the Italians, the people of Cologne, perhaps even the English, he was the representative of the famed Netherlandish school of painting.

But when we rid ourselves of the prejudgments inspired by historical convention, Jan Joest and Jan Provost tower above Joos van Cleve. Apart from other causes, their lesser fame is derived from the fact that Provost chose dying Bruges as the scene of his work, while Jan Joest operated only on the fringes of Netherlandish culture. Perhaps it is a conceit when we hope that changing views of history may yet come to the same conclusions as our own subjective judgment, opposed as it is to traditional views.

The older literature in respect of Jan Joest, offering little more than findings from the study of documents at Haarlem and Calcar, is listed in Clemen's *Die Kunstdenkmäler der Rheinprovinz*, I, Vol. 4, p. 59.

There has been much debate over Joos van Cleve. Baldass's volume, *Joos van Cleve* (Krystall-Verlag, Vienna, 1925), reviews the course of these studies, in which C. Justi also took part. Here almost the entire oeuvre of the master is reproduced, and a consistent chronological arrangement has been carried out.

Jan Provost has been curiously ignored. The literature contains virtually



nothing about him but Hulin's pamphlet published as long ago as 1902—*Quelques Peintres Brugeois...* 1, Jan Provost, Ad. Hoste, Ghent.

10

The material on Patenier is also rather meagre. Beginnings in delimiting and ordering his work were made by Fred. C. Willis in *Monatshefte für Kunstwissenschaft*, Vol. 7, 1914, pp. 43 ff., and by G. J. Hoogewerff, in *Onze Kunst*, Vol. 43, 1926, pp. 1 ff. Baldass thoroughly investigated Patenier's relations with his predecessors, contemporaries and followers in the *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses*, Vol. 34, 1918, pp. 111 ff.

In respect of the illustrations for this volume, since completeness was unattainable, I have omitted well-known works reproduced elsewhere, to make room for new material, to which I have gained access from the art market III.

## Jan Joest

11

It is high time to speak of Jan Joest, the master of the Calcar altarpiece. Chronologically, he rates a place beside Quentin Massys and the Master of Frankfurt. Among the Dutch, Geertgen tot Sint Jans is his contemporary, although he predeceased Jan. In terms of geography, Jan Joest stands apart, and this may be one of the reasons why it is so hard to fit him into a historical context. The historian's eyes are rivetted upon the major art centres of Bruges, Antwerp and Haarlem. Groping our way as well as we can by following events at these centres, we utterly fail to encounter the Calcar master—or, at least, we do not come upon him at the right time. Only when we fix our sights upon the Antwerp painter Joos van Cleve, who became a master in the Schelde port in 1511, does Jan Joest emerge ahead of him, a figure to be neither overlooked nor evaded. The name Cleve points to the Lower Rhine, in the region of Calcar. Stylistically, Jan Joest and Joos seemed so closely related to the astute connoisseur O. Eisenmann that he felt compelled to propose that the two painters were identical. If there was a connection between them, Jan Joest was certainly the one who gave, for he was considerably the older, Joos having been born only about 1485. We run the risk of concealing certain premises when we turn to Joos van Cleve, without first having examined the work of the Calcar master.

Jan Joest seems to have been born in Wesel—he is described as *Weseliensis* on one occasion. I owe this intelligence to Fritz Witte, who has been kind enough to acquaint me, in correspondence, with the results of important documentary researches. Jan came to Calcar at an early stage—his names turns up in a local list of men in military service as early as 1480, meaning he must have been born in 1460 at the latest. He is again mentioned at Calcar in 1491. Between 1505 and 1508, he worked there on the shutters of the high altar. From 1509 until his death in 1519, he can be shown to have been in Haarlem, where he bought a house in 1510 and executed an altarpiece in 1515. His influence and prestige seem to have spread beyond the regions of the Lower Rhine and Holland. It was in Brussels that he received a commission for Palencia, from a Spaniard who was conducting negotiations with the court.

In the trascoro of the cathedral at Palencia stands an altarpiece panel with the *Seven Sorrows of Mary* (2, Plates 7-10), commissioned, according to an inscription, in 1505 at Brussels by Juan de Fonseca, bishop of Palencia. This clerical dignitary and confidant of the Spanish crown repeatedly visited the Netherlandish court on political missions. In the *Libro de Acuerdos* of the cathedral, the name of the painter is entered as *Juan de Hollanda*. Justi<sup>1</sup>, who first drew attention to this painting, surmised that 'Juan' might be Jan Mostaert. The proposal would be quite plausible, if the inscription and the entry were all we had to go by. A Dutch painter, named Jan, met by a

1. *Miscellaneen...* vol. 1, pp. 329 ff.

Spaniard at the Brussels court—that would seem to be none other than Jan Mostaert, stated to have been court painter to the regent Margaret. But the work itself contradicts such a combination. The stylistic analyst is unable to find the slightest relationship with Jan Mostaert, while agreement with the Calcar altarpiece is so complete that there is no alternative to identifying Juan de Hollanda as Jan Joest.

The key works of this master stand in widely separated places, and far from the main roads. This is why his stature has not been recognized and he has not yet been able to take the place he deserves. The two altarpieces were done at about the same time and, in view of the date, are remarkably modern.

The life of the Saviour and the Passion are depicted on 20 panels composing the inside and outside of the Calcar altar wings (1, Plates 1-6) [21]. The narrative begins on the outside with a *Circumcision* and ends on the inside with a *Death of the Virgin*. This is surmounted by a narrower set of shutters, showing an *Annunciation* and a *Nativity* on the inside, a *Moses and the Brazen Serpent* and a *Sacrifice of Abraham* on the outside. Some of the scenes are crowded with figures in lively movement, and the whole work is of a bemusing richness. At a time when art was weary, narrow in outlook and weighed down with tradition, a new source of power suddenly erupted from the Lower Rhine, exerting its effect in Antwerp as in Cologne. Barthel Bruyn, for example, seems wholly beholden to Jan Joest. The outburst did not manifest itself as a deliberate, artificial, laboured innovation—as was the case, for example, in the circle of the Antwerp Mannerists, and in the efforts of Quentin Massys and Jan Gossart—but as a bold attempt to encompass the visible world. The master allowed himself to be carried towards a wealth of pictorial notions, an audacious frankness, a natural sense of grace—culminating in effects of refreshing spontaneity and ennobling grandeur. His approach is full-blooded, ripe and expansive, at times using emphatic outlines, and thus, despite the large size of the altarpiece, ensuring unmistakable clarity across the distance that separates many of the panels from the beholder.

Let us take *Christ Before Pilate* as an example (1, Plate 4). The Procurator is seated on his throne at the left, holding his interlinked hands under a stream of water that a page pours from a ewer into a wash bowl. Dressed in furs and brocade, he wears a great beard that falls down in ringlets. A dog of curious breed, not unlike a rat, perches on a step of the throne. The Saviour's head is high, his nose large, his hair wavy. The lips are slightly parted, the lower one heavy. Like all of this master's idealized types, the face has a vacant and masklike aspect. Of the two henchmen escorting him, the round-headed one grimaces maliciously, while the soldier in armour looks indifferent and officious, representing the harsh, chill power of the state. All the other figures—the spectators—are strikingly portraitlike, even the wife of the Roman, cautioning her husband. They are townsmen of Calcar, members of the congregation for whom the altarpiece was painted, resolute men with the authority of councillors or judges. Yet they do not intervene, nor help the accused. They are mere witnesses to injustice. They really have

no business there, but by being present at the event they are raised to a level of symbolic timelessness. Beards and dress of the main actors seem histrionic beside the plain, everyday aspect of the chorus arrayed backstage making up their minds.

In his Haarlem altarpiece, *Geertgen tot Sint Jans* inserted portrait groups into the legendary composition in a similar spirit. Jan Joest worked in Haarlem, demonstrably after 1508, perhaps even before 1505. Dutch talent and inclination are heralded in his work. As a portrait painter, Jan Joest takes his place between Geertgen and Jan van Scorel.

I should like to emphasize some formal characteristics. Joest's hands are large, eloquent, with long, bony fingers. The distance between nose and mouth is short, the eyes are dark and deep-set, often narrowed to a slit, the ears long and pointed towards the bottom. The foreshortening of the steep, head-on faces sometimes miscarries. In side view, brow, skull and occiput form a semicircle. Dress fabrics fall in large, drawn-out folds, without creases. Hair to Jan Joest is a plastic material that can be kneaded, through which he can express individual character, age and mood. It falls down in silken, well-groomed ringlets; it droops over the forehead, stiff, matted or fluffy; or it twirls upwards in tangled confusion. Joest's idealized women are wholesome and warm-blooded. The boy child, of innocent grace, is often seen in lost profile, with a droll snub nose. Profile views of the head open up the soul, so to speak, force it out—an arched nose soaring upwards, pulling the lips apart, while the chin recedes. The master saw events neither as a cleric nor as a courtier, neither artistically nor ecstatically nor with feminine sensitivity, but as an enlightened man, without prudish hesitation, sharing in the eventful drama. His buildings and utensils reflect the purposeful world of the busy burgher.

There is little jewellery and adornment—none of the exotically conspicuous embellishment with which other masters of Joest's day removed events from the present. The master knew Renaissance forms, but used them with restraint, respecting the visible realities. In his *Raising of Lazarus* (I, Plate 3), he reproduced the marketplace of Calcar with objectivity and precision.

The pictures are organized with strong contrasts of light and dark. The master observed the incidence of light, tackled night scenes with consistency. In these bold approaches he appears to continue the line set by Geertgen. His *Nativity* (I, Plate 6) and *Taking of Christ* (I, Plate 4) are bathed in dark, lighted only from sources that flare up within the frame, their rays sometimes eroding the forms. Light takes on autonomy, no longer serving exclusively to create three-dimensionality, but setting the mood by means of dramatic accents, arbitrarily emphasizing certain parts of the picture, almost as though by chance, while concealing others.

The *Taking of Christ* dazzles like a piece of fireworks, with torches, flying sparks and starkly illuminated faces shown in Bosch-like caricature—elements that combine to create a grotesque and spooky overall impression, while the suffering Saviour is almost overlooked.

The plain and solid well at which Christ holds converse with the Woman



of Samaria (1, Plate 3) is elaborated with realistic joy in its construction, perspective and substance—chain, pitcher, spraying water. So striking is this illusion of reality that it detracts from the living presence of the idealized figures. Joest set a standard of illusionism so high that he himself was not always able to live up to it, least of all in his idealized types.

Impatience speaks from the voluminous work, and a sense of headlong haste. Parts of some pictures look as though they had been done in a hurry, without proper attention, indifferently. It is probable that Jan Joest was so confident of success in his hometown that he forebore to extend himself and was not above accepting the assistance of pupils. He let himself go—to the detriment of sustained quality, but to the benefit of dash and flair.

The Palencia panel (2, Plates 7-10), with its smaller units, is done with greater deliberation and moderation and with more uniform care. A few scenes from the Calcar altarpiece recur here, although they are done in a different way. In the Palencia work, nature—exemplified in tall plants in the foreground, and rocks and trees in the middleground—is more firmly integrated with the figure groups than at Calcar. The available documents do not fully answer the question of how the two works are related in time. Judging from the style, I am inclined to believe that Jan Joest had finished his altar panel for the Spaniard, before he went to work on the Calcar commission.

It is in his panel, *Christ Among the Doctors* (2, Plate 8), that the master undertook to derive the effect of the picture as a whole solely from the circumstances of light and space. In a chamber with several windows, the light falling in obliquely from above routs the gloom, strikes gesticulating hands and the grotesque heads of scribes, fat and lean, lends depth to the library, a sense of reality to its furnishings, the chandelier, the tomes, and sets the mood for the scene in which the child argues against pedantic and bigoted book learning. There are certain precursors in the Dutch tradition—Geertgen and Dieric Bouts—of Jan Joest's nocturnal scenes of the *Nativity* and the *Taking of Christ*; but his room with its specifically internal lighting, its alternation in depth of light and dark levels, constitutes a new and original pictorial notion.

The peculiarities in formal idiom we have noted in the Calcar altarpiece we find again at Palencia, except that everything there is in a lower, more delicate key. There is a greater sense of unity as well, if only for the fact that the portrait heads, forming so sharp a contrast at Calcar, are missing in Palencia.

By stylistic comparison alone, only a few paintings have been ascribed to the master of Calcar. Oddly enough, it has not proved possible to link his name with even a single individual portrait, despite the abundance of excellent portrait heads in the Calcar altarpiece, bespeaking both talent and practice in this field. Whatever portraits Joos van Cleve and Barthel Bruyn created in their younger years seem to go back to Jan Joest, and to have been surpassed by him.

Without a doubt a work by Jan Joest is a *Mater Dolorosa*, with the dead

Saviour, St. John and the Magdalene, shrewdly acquired by the Wallraf-Richartz Museum, from the Sigmaringen Gallery (5, Plate 12). In an error that yet bespeaks his insight, Scheibler attributed this painting to Barthel Bruyn. The types of the Saviour, the disciple and the women, the tactile, long-fingered hands, the agitated profile of the very youthful St. John with his parted lips and flying hair, the draping of the fabrics, the head of Christ with its large nose and protruding lower lip, above all the open grief—St. John utterly beyond himself, the women rigid and preoccupied, the torment in the face of the dead Saviour, whose one arm dangles helplessly—all these are expressed with straight-forward naïveté.

Jan Joest is quick-witted in his creations, strikingly exemplifying the scene from what he has witnessed himself or remembered. He never repeats himself, never exploits his motives, steers clear of formula and schema, like scarcely another Netherlander of his time. His sense of understanding and participation was preferably stirred by instinct. His children and maidens exert a more powerful effect than his heroes and spiritual protagonists. His apostles are either immature or feeble old men.

His narrow panel with the *Nativity* (1, Plate 6) in the Calcar altarpiece features a looming Virgin on her knees, slightly bent forward towards the child, who rests on a corner of her widely draped cloak. A sharp light, seemingly issuing from the child, strikes her face and her large, folded hands, and also picks out the two angels and the clean-shaven Joseph from the deep gloom. The group extends obliquely in depth, and each of the figures has a different orientation towards the front. They all look as though they were safe and secure within the shelter of the darkness. The lips of the angel kneeling to the fore, in side view, are widely parted, giving him an expression of amazement. His nose is turned up, his hair hangs down softly. The other angel, lofty of brow, is seen head-on, two dry, dotted, crinkly bunches of hair on his shoulders. To Jan Joest, angels are childlike elementals, eager to serve.

From several copies, we may conclude that there was a second nocturnal *Nativity*, with an abundant cast of angels. The Master of Frankfurt used this composition twice (see Nos. 4c and 4d), without consistently carrying out the lighting scheme. In his Clapis altarpiece of 1516, Barthel Bruyn also followed this model, especially in the lighting. Two copies of lesser merit—one of which was in the Kaufmann collection (4a, Plate 11)—offer the most faithful account of this lost panel. The child lies at centre in a kind of box, while the Virgin is surrounded by five or six or seven kneeling angels. Like the rather clumsy Master of Frankfurt, the nameless copyists have painstakingly taken over some of the peculiarities of the original. The hair of one of the flying angels twirls upwards like a radiant crown, reminiscent of the high, tousled, wind-blown head of hair of the Angel of the Annunciation at Calcar.

An original by the hand of the master—in the Bissing collection (3, Plate 11)—a *Nativity*, by daylight, pleases with its wealth of moving, singing and music-making angels, some of them on their knees, others in flight, and all

of them in carefully graduated scale. Once again, the child lies in a kind of open chest, and in a similar posture. The group of kneeling angels is crowded to one side. The angels in the air disport themselves as though they were in their element, plummeting and clustering about the Holy Family. The dominant motive is a spirit of playfulness that invests the picture with a rhythmic swing. The straw-plaited basket at the forward edge—one might almost refer to it as a portrait—is characteristic of the master, who here parades his skill in realistic still life as he did in the Calcar altarpiece.

A panel of lesser value is a *Virgin and Child with St. Anne*, formerly in the Cumberland collection at Hanover (6, Plate 12), which appeared on the Berlin art market a few years ago. Conventionally composed and rather casually done, it belongs in this general context, in my view, and I incline to regard it as a late work of the Calcar master. The women are of wide stature, with large hands and clothes of heavy drape. Apart from the hands, it is especially the child's head, seated deep between the shoulders, that testifies with its expression and its light, fuzzy hair to Jan Joest's authorship.

Just where the master received his training, from what particular school he started—these are matters that remain obscure. He may have grown up in Wesel and even absolved his apprenticeship there, but even if this were certain, it would avail us little, for we know nothing of the art of Wesel. Jan Joest's art is definitely autochthonous and must be regarded as stemming from Lower Germany, and, in a broader sense, Holland. Since he moved down the Rhine to Haarlem in 1509, in the heart of the Dutch country, we might speculate that he was resuming earlier relations with that part of the world, where he may have sojourned as apprentice, journeyman or youthful master. In the broader or narrower geographical sense, all the painters to whom Jan Joest is spiritual kin were Dutch—like Geertgen and Pieter Bruegel. We sense only a comparatively weak degree of pressure from the direction of hieratic tradition. Jan Joest illustrates the gospel stories with a hearty freedom, strong as an observer, weak as a creator of types. Like so many painters from the North and East, he seems to have resorted to Antwerp or Brussels for a time, whether long or short. Without such an assumption, it would be hard to explain how a Spaniard at the Brussels court should have gone to Jan Joest, of all people, when he decided to commission an altarpiece for Palencia.

## Joos van Cleve, the Master of the Death of the Virgin

17

The sorry confusion in respect of Joos van Cleve, extending even into the most recent literature, is to be laid at the door of the painter's earliest biographer. Van Mander tells falteringly of an eminent painter named Joos van Cleve, nicknamed *Sotte Cleef*, because he went mad. His mental illness came on in London when he dared to rival Antonis Mor, with whom he picked a quarrel, at the time when King Philip of Spain was espousing Mary Tudor, Queen of England. This was in 1554. Van Mander is not certain whether the 'mad' van Cleve belonged to the family of Marten and Hendrik van Cleve. He correctly learned from the guild register that a Joos van Cleve became a full master in Antwerp in 1511, but doubts that this master, who 'in his time painted many Madonnas surrounded by angels', could have been his hero's ancestor. He regards a certain Willem van Cleve, entered in the guild register in 1518, as Joos's father. In the end, he compounds confusion with some vague remarks that there was still another *Joos van Cleef*—a third one, in other words—to say nothing of a *Cornelis van Cleef*. He airily describes as the work of his master a Madonna for which Patenier painted a very beautiful landscape, paying no heed to the chronological inconsistencies. Van Mander's Joos, son of Willem who became a master only in 1518, could scarcely have collaborated with Patenier, who died as early as 1524.

Escaping from this embarrassing account to the documentary evidence, we find but a single painter named Joos van Cleve in the Antwerp guild register—the one who became a full master in 1511 and made his will in 1540. Most of van Mander's data do not fit him at all, in a chronological sense. He certainly cannot have gone mad in London in 1554. No younger master of the same name has been documented—at least not in Antwerp.

It was left to L. Burchard to resolve van Mander's fateful error completely<sup>1</sup>. For a portrait engraving representing Joos van Cleve, Lampsonius wrote Latin verses which van Mander, in his book, translated into Dutch. Lampsonius praises the *Justus* (Joos) portrayed, and commiserates with him, almost like an after-dinner speaker racking his brains for an original turn: 'How happy wert though, by thine own art, and by thy son's, had but the poor boy kept his mind whole!' Actually, the son, whose first name is not given, rather than the sitter, is described as insane. As it happens there was indeed a mad painter named van Cleve, but his name was Cornelis rather than Joos<sup>2</sup>. He was the son of our master, born in 1520. Thus the tangled skein is unravelled. Van Mander misapprehended the verses. He confused the painter shown in the engraving, praised in the verses, and named Joos, with Cornelis van Cleve. His error was to apply the account of madness to the person depicted rather than to the son.

Whatever is known about a painter named Joos van Cleve applies to the one who worked in Antwerp between the years 1511 and 1540.

1. *Mélanges Hulin de Loo*, 1931; Dr. Burchard was kind enough to communicate the results of his investigations to me before the appearance of the essay.

2. Van den Branden, *Burlington Magazine*, January 1915, p. 172.



The portrait engraving van Mander thought a likeness of the mad van Cleve goes back to a painting kept in Windsor Castle, with a female portrait as its pendant (120, Plate 128). This pair of portraits, ostensibly authenticated as the work of a putative Joos van Cleve the Younger, put art critics on a false trail. Quite apart from the fact that from the literal meaning of Lampsonius's verses we have no alternative to regarding the two portraits as the work of the one and only Joos van Cleve, the bearded male sitter, seemingly at least 50, could not be identical with Cornelis van Cleve, who succumbed to lunacy at the age of 34. Judging from their dress, the Windsor couple were painted about 1540 and could at best include the father, who died in that year, but scarcely the son, who was only 20 at the time. Perhaps the reason why this pair, like other paintings in British collections, were attributed to *Sotte van Cleve* is to be sought in the stir created in London when the Netherlandish painter went mad. Whenever they heard the name van Cleve, the English could think only of that disaster. We shall have to examine whether the portrait at Windsor, can indeed, by the testimony of the engraving and the verses, be considered the father's work and a self-portrait.

One odd aspect about the verses by Lampsonius remains, since Joos was long dead when his son lost his reason, so that Joos's happiness could have scarcely been impaired by his son's illness.

The life of the master from Cleve, whose proper name was Joos van der Beke (Beken), can be traced in Antwerp documents<sup>3</sup>. A full master by 1511, he must have in all likelihood been born about 1485. In 1520, he lived in a house near the Gratiekapel. His first wife, Anna Vijdt, bore his son Cornelis in 1520, a daughter, Jozijne, in 1522. On 27th March 1528, he bought a house, *Het Exterken*, from the parents of his wife. A second marriage, to Katelijne van Mispelteeren, remained childless. Joos registered apprentices in the years 1516, 1523, 1535 (2), and 1536, and was dean of the guild in 1519, 1520, and 1525. He made his last will and testament on 10th November 1540, and on 13th April 1541 his wife is described as a widow.

Guicciardini says of Joos: *Gios di Cleves cittadino d'Anversa rarissimo nel colorire, e tanto eccellente nel ritrarre dal naturale, che havendo il Re Francesco primo mandati qua huomini a posta, per condurre alla Corte qualche maestro egregio, costui fu l'eletto, e condotto in Francia ritrasse il Re, e la Regina, ed altri Principi con somma laude, e premi grandissimi*<sup>4</sup>.

The French king summoned the Netherlandish painter after 1530, that is to say, after his marriage to Eleonore, daughter of Philip the Fair, this connection having first turned his eyes towards the Netherlands. We may assume that he sent for the portraitist soon after the wedding. Joos registered no apprentices between 1523 and 1535, and then two in 1535 and another in 1536. We may thus most plausibly interpose a protracted absence from Antwerp into the years between 1528—when he bought a house—and 1535. It seems quite reasonable that, coming home from abroad and establishing his Antwerp studio anew, he should at once have employed two apprentices.

3. Van den Branden, *Geschiedenis...*, pp. 128 ff.

4. *Descrittione...* (1567), p. 98.

Joos van Cleve has been identified as the Master of the Death of the Virgin, and the arguments in favour of this combination have so gained in number and persuasiveness that in the present state of our knowledge all doubt has been ruled out, and indeed none has been voiced lately.

The Master of the Death of the Virgin was so named when the Boisserées and Wallraf managed to acquire two triptychs from Cologne churches. The centre panels of each of these triptychs—preserved today in the Pinaothek at Munich (17, Plates 34-37) and the museum at Cologne (16, Plates 32, 33)—depict a *Death of the Virgin*, while both sets of wings show the Hackenay brothers, along with their wives and name saints. The Boisserées conceived the curious notion of identifying the master as Jan van Scorel [3]. This originally quite innocent error was later taken seriously by Thoman and Wurzbach, and senselessly defended with worthless arguments. When the œuvre began to swell and relations were noted with places far from Cologne as well as from each other—Genoa, Danzig, Paris, London, but oddly enough neither Spain nor Portugal—this expansive influence and manifest production for export seemed more and more typical of a master working in Antwerp; and the more the œuvre grew, the deeper it seemed to strike roots in the soil of Antwerp. When we regard the work of the Master of the Death of the Virgin as a whole its many copies and replicas, its themes and its operating methods he resembles the so-called Master of Frankfurt, erroneously associated with the city on the Main river in the early stages of art research.

The Cologne *Death of the Virgin* is inscriptively dated 1515 on its frame, which has been renewed. In the light of stylistic criticism, most of the master's works seem to have been done after that date.

Merlo noted a mark in the nature of a signature on an armorial bearing in the Cologne *Death of the Virgin* (16, Plate 33), which promised a clue to the master's name<sup>5</sup>. The letters are indistinct and have been read in various ways. To the left and right of what looks like a merchant mark—v A, combined in a kind of monogram—J—a clear vertical bar—and o or b. Now a similar signature in the *Last Supper* panel of the Reinhold altarpiece in the church of St. Mary at Danzig (20, Plate 45) clearly shows b as the final letter<sup>6</sup>. As for this Danzig altarpiece, which I do not know very well, I stick to the judgment of Scheibler, who was reminded of the Master of the Death of the Virgin, without knowing about the signature. This uneven work, of unequal merit, was installed in 1516<sup>7</sup> and may well have been executed largely by assistants in the master's studio [4].

It forms an exception in his œuvre, in which no other example is demonstrable of an altarpiece including wood-carvings. Joos eschewed this type of work, as unworthy of him.

Luckily, there is a third picture with the signature, a triptych with an *Adoration* that has reached the Berlin art market from the Emden collection in Hamburg and the van Gelder collection in Uccle (10, Plates 20, 21). The dagger of the senior king here plainly bears the letters J and B, separated by crossed rods. On the dog collar on the right shutter of this triptych, exactly

5. *Die Familie Hackenay*, 1863, p. 65.

6. Kaemmerer, *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, vol. 11, 1890, pp. 150 ff.

7. Cf. Kaemmerer, *loc. cit.*

as in the replica preserved in the Naples museum (10 a, Plate 22) and in the same places, are two escutcheons, one with a crossed anchor, the other divided with the arms of Cleve and those of the County of von der Marck. To apply these armorial bearings to the patron of the two altarpieces, one should have to prove a marital connection between the houses of Cleve and Marck for the time around 1520; but at that time the County of von der Marck had long been joined to Cleve. We therefore incline to relate the arms to the painter and his home.

That he introduced these dynastic arms, which must have been familiar to him as local symbols, speaks in favour of the assumption that Joos was born in Cleve, or at least within the dominions of the Counts of Cleve. Had the painter merely sought to allude to his own name, he would have rested content with the arms of Cleve [5]. From the replica of the Neapolitan altarpiece, one may read the author's name: *Joos van der Beke—van Cleve*.

Among the works of his Joos van Cleve, van Mander mentions a Madonna for which Patenier is supposed to have painted a very beautiful landscape. Since Patenier worked in Antwerp between 1515 and 1524, he may have collaborated with Joos van Cleve during this period. Actually, the Master of the Death of the Virgin does follow Patenier in his landscape representations. There are pictures of his, before which one wavers as to whether Patenier or Joos, imitating Patenier, did the landscapes<sup>8</sup>. These observations, together with van Mander's report, serve to confirm the identity of the Master of the Death of the Virgin with Joos, whether or not there ever was a picture done by Patenier and Joos together, or whether van Mander, understandably but erroneously, regarded a landscape reminiscent of Patenier as having been added by that landscape painter.

The theory that the Master of the Death of the Virgin and Joos van Cleve were one and the same person is most firmly buttressed by Guicciardini's statement concerning the Antwerp painter's work at the Paris court; for there are portraits of the French king, and of his queen, Eleonore, that display the style of the Master of the Death of the Virgin more or less plainly. As with virtually all portraits of royal personages, we find a number of replicas and old copies of those showing Francis I and his second wife, in which the style of the original paintings done from life is blurred in varying measure.

As for the king, his portrait type, repeated with variations in dress and gesture of hands, is best represented in the specimen that has reached the Johnson collection in Philadelphia and may well be regarded as an original (72, Plate 92). This excellent likeness fits into the œuvre of the Master of the Death of the Virgin—even into his line of development at the time it must have been done, shortly before 1535, judging by the appearance of the king, who was born in 1494. Some of the Netherlander's hallmarks—such as the shadows cast against the background by frame and head—which are blurred in old copies made by French painters, emerge sharply in the specimen in the Johnson collection. Quentin Massys, Barthel Bruyn—and on occasions, our master—availed themselves of this means for framing

8. I shall revert to the relationship between the two masters in my chapter on Patenier.

their pictures, enlivening the background and deepening the sense of space.

We find a portrait of the French queen at Hampton Court (108a, Plate 113) that could well be a pendant to the Philadelphia picture. It has about the same dimensions, displays similar shadows in the background and does not fall behind in artistic merit. The excellent but much smaller specimen that has reached the Vienna Staatsgalerie (108b, Plate 114) from the Minutoli collection lacks the background shadows, but for the rest corresponds completely, down to the Spanish address on the letter: *A la christianissima y muy podrosa Sinora la Reyna my sinora*. Francis I, by the way, seems to have acquired a picture by Joos in Antwerp as early as 1529. At least, there is mention of 'two children kissing each other', which can only mean the group consisting of Jesus and St. John, going back to Leonardo, which the master repeated more than once (37, Plate 55).

A portrait of Henry VIII of England in Hampton Court (73, Plate 91) is noteworthy, because in format, conception and brushwork it looks like a pendant to that of the French queen. The face is not in a flawless state of preservation in this excellent panel, which may well be an original by the hand of the Master of the Death of the Virgin, apparently done in 1536. In the Hampton Court catalogue, this date is plausibly based on the fact that the inscription appearing in the picture is taken from an English edition of the Bible published in 1536. In old inventories, the portrait is entered as *Jennet* or *Sotte Cleve*; but by 1536, Cornelis van Cleve, the *Sotte*, was only 16, and he surely cannot be considered the author. Was Joos van Cleve himself in England in 1536? Possibly the portraits of the French king and his queen by Joos van Cleve were despatched to the London court; and Henry VIII then commissioned the master to do his own portrait in the same style.

The inscription is, I believe, convincing; and we may confidently associate the huge store of pictures ascribed to the Master of the Death of the Virgin by stylistic evidence with the known data about Joos van Beke, yclept van Cleve.

## Joos van Cleve — His Devotional Pictures — His Development

22 The œuvre of Joos van Cleve unlike that of van Orley, for example, does not divide into several segments, different from one another and consecutive in time. Rather, in a chronological sense, it appears in the form of a smooth progression. It is composed of altarpieces, devotional panels, Madonnas and Holy Families, and many portraits.

To describe the art of this painter and to establish his place in history, I shall pick examples from the confusingly abundant store of works that have come down to us, sticking to those of incontestable merit, and compare them to elicit stylistic distinctions that mark various phases in his career. Among the altarpieces, crowded with full-length figures, I single out the two triptychs with the *Death of the Virgin* (16, Plates 32, 33 and 17, Plates 34-37) —the smaller one was done in 1515, four years after Joos became a master in Antwerp. Beside them I would put the two *Adorations* in the Dresden museum (27, Plate 49 and 28, Plate 50) and the great altarpiece in the Louvre, which comes from Genoa (19, Plate 41).

Of these altarpieces, the smaller *Adoration* in Dresden (27, Plate 49) was done at the same time as the Cologne *Death of the Virgin* (16, Plates 32, 33), if not a little earlier, i.e. during the master's early years in Antwerp. Apart from comparisons of style, always a fallible approach, we can find another way of approximating the date of this work, for the painter appears in it 'in the flesh', to give us a hint of his age (61). A man stands near the centre of the middleground, wearing the distinctive dress of the time, in contrast to the other figures. Quite young, with dark eyes, a short, broad and slightly snubbed nose, and a large, round head of soft modelling, he bears an aspect characteristic of self-portraits. We find, in fact, other self-portraits by this master, but nowhere else does he look as young as here. The one rightly so regarded that went from the Kaufmann collection into the hands of Baron Thyssen shows a still youthful man of graver aspect, matured by cares and experience (70, Plate 89). That there is a gap in time between these two self-portraits is confirmed by the head coverings. In the *Adoration* (28, Plate 50), Joos wears a round, beretlike cap, in the individual panel a hat that is cocked on his head and extends over the sides. This fashion came in about 1520.

In the smaller Dresden *Adoration* (27, Plate 49), done about 1512, Joos is already shown in full possession of his technique. Almost every master painting around 1510 did at least one *Adoration*; and thus, whether we are aware of it or not, we have a comparative scale of values when we consider Joos's. It is busy and festive in character, marked with a flowery range of local coloration. There is not a trace of Gossart's tensed energy, nor of Quentin's ecstatic ardour. The illusion of space is limited, and there is little weight and depth to the pictorial elements. The flesh parts of Virgin and child are almost without shadows, their forms essentially shaped by flowing,

wavy contours, their foreshortenings and overlappings observed with assurance. The brushwork approaches enamel, vitreously smooth in effect, with sharp cherry reds, deep, succulent greens and light blues. An abundance of forms is spread over the entire area, agile and fluttering, with a sense of rhythm that never falters. All the local tints are prominent and yet remain harmoniously all of one piece. The derelict hall, overgrown with foliage and of Southern aspect in its openness, affords different vistas, for the sake of picturesque variety, showing pillars and columns with ornamentation in the Renaissance taste, joined with garlands in an airy, playful decorative scheme lacking consistency in construction. As a personal grace note, the vaulting displays a slender, graceful, nude statue, and children in active motion that are neither quite plastic, architectural embellishment, nor living angels.

The superabundance, like the pleasure taken in adornment and precious dress, are explained by the painter's youth; at the same time, we should bear in mind that in Antwerp around 1510 the Mannerists outdid one another in the rising pitch of the by-work, meeting the taste of the time. That Joos was touched by this fad we sense most strongly when looking at the Reinhold altarpiece in Danzig (20, Plates 42-45), which seems to have been done after 1511 and before 1516—after 1511, since Dürer's woodcut from the Small Passion is freely copied in the *Christ Shown to the People*; before 1516, since the altar was installed in that year. In compositional style as in the types shown, this altarpiece, which Joos seems to have executed with the prominent help of assistants, conspicuously approaches the 'Antwerp Mannerist School'. In character and quality, he reveals himself most plainly in the large figures on the outside shutters.

In the Dresden panel, Joos displays a degree of unquiet that is, by comparison, moderate. The kings approach the Holy Family with a sense of familiarity. Despite long beards and lofty foreheads, they are youthful in bearing and demeanour, serene in their open-mouthed wonder. The mobile hands are drawn with great skill and admirable finesse. Consistency of lighting has been sacrificed to richness of local coloration. The master is bold enough to shadow some of the subsidiary figures in the middleground with chiaroscuro. The drapery is rich and expansive.

We shall take full advantage of the opportunity for comparing this *Adoration* (27, Plate 49) with the larger panel in Dresden representing the same theme (28, Plate 50). It is quite evident that there is a gap in time between the two works, and our concern is directed mainly towards its length. Again a self-portrait helps us. Inserted and isolated in the composition in similar fashion as before, we note a half-length figure behind a ramp in the middle-ground—the still youthful painter, aged about 35. The time lag between the two Dresden *Adorations* may be accordingly estimated at ten years, and we arrive at a date of about 1525 for the larger panel. S. Luca d'Erba is given as the church, near Genoa, whence the picture was said to come, and the presence of the Evangelist in the rôle of artist testifies to the fact that it was originally meant for a church honouring St. Luke. The donor, whose name saint was probably St. Dominic, also shown, appears at the left edge.

In composition, architecture, landscape and overall conception of the scene, very little has changed. The masonry is a bit quieter and more expansive, and the figures seem to have a slightly firmer footing. The main difference is that vigorous shadows create a stronger illusion of space and depth. In the Virgin's face and the child's body, the flesh tints are rounded with cold, inky tones. The whole work is more sophisticated, effortlessly filling the larger frame. It is less loosely organized, and there is more weight to it. The grouping tends to the schematic. The heads of the donor and of the second and third kings are at the same height, as, lower down, are those of the two saints, while the pyramid of the Virgin with the senior king is placed between the two firm verticals that parallel the picture margins.

Of the other *Adorations* by the master that are known, the triptych on the Berlin art market (10, Plates 20, 21), coinciding with the one in Naples (10a, Plate 22), closely resembles the larger Dresden panel. The Moorish king on the right shutter of the former agrees in many details with the one in the latter. The triptych in S. Donato in Genoa must have also been done at about the same time, i.e. around 1525, judging from the style (9, Plates 18, 19). The small and modest triptych in the Berlin museum, on the other hand, done about 1516, is of more archaic aspect (8, Plates 16, 17).

The two triptychs in Cologne (16, Plates 32, 33) and Munich (17, Plates 34-37) that gave the master his makeshift name were done in 1515. True, the inscribed date on the frame of the Cologne triptych is not of original antiquity, but it goes back to a 'genuine' inscription<sup>1</sup>. The very fact that the donors and their spouses wear the same dress in both works excludes any considerable difference in time. In respect of the central panels, a comparison of the two triptychs commissioned by the Hackenay brothers shows that the grouping of the figures was studiously modified, while the donor wings are, apart from minor differences, precise repetitions of equal merit. Commissioned at the same time, or, at least, in swift succession, the two altarpieces are distinct in format, in the proportions of height to width, presumably because this was demanded by local contingencies in the churches or chapels. In Cologne, the central panel is almost twice as wide as it is high, while the much larger one in the Pinakothek approaches the square. The only significant and conspicuous difference between the shutters in Cologne and in Munich is that in the wide panels in Cologne the horizon lies at a lower level than in the tall panels in Munich, showing the heads of the saints dark against a light sky in the former, while they are light against a background of dark foliage in the latter. Such adaptation to the given picture area reveals an instinct for filling the area properly. The master's vision was not firmly tied to a natural connection between figures and countryside. His chief concern was even, pleasing and harmonious decoration.

The range of Joos's pictorial work may be gauged by the skill with which he changed about all the motives in the centre panels, while sticking to his basic conception, his types and his formal idiom. His inventiveness proves itself fertile in the material sense. Since we take away the same total impres-

1. There is a note in the exchange agreement of 1810 that forms part of the Wallraf legacy: *Sur le bas côté du cadre les chiffres de l'année 1515* (personal communication from E. Buchner).

sion, here as there, we fancy we have seen replicas. Yet when we make a more careful comparison, we marvel at the thoroughgoing differences in the compositions.

In the Munich *Death of the Virgin* (17, Plate 35), the apostles are arrayed in loose symmetry to the right and left of the deathbed, which thrusts away in depth. In the Cologne version (16, Plate 33), on the other hand, the bed stands lengthwise in the direction of the picture surface, extending over almost half the width of the panel. The apostles, in type and bearing the same men, play their parts before and behind the dying Virgin's pallet. They have exchanged places and functions.

The death chamber is spacious in effect and looks imperfectly enclosed, mainly in consequence of the excessive perspective foreshortening of the figures pushed into the middleground. A few of the figures are in shadowy semi-chiaroscuro, but overall there is a rather sprightly and sharp local coloration that flies in the face of the theme. The Virgin, her bright, transfigured countenance on piled-up pillows, dies a gentle death, while the grief of the disciples is translated into headlong activity. Each one is busy on some errand, and so eagerly does their zeal surge against the bed that there is no occasion for worshipful mourning to assert itself. A few of the apostles are hurriedly striding about, although the distances within the chamber scarcely make such a pace appear necessary. The moment of death is recounted with an overpowering sense of drama—the holy woman breathing her last, while the men still hasten to do her small favours or to perform some act of devotion.

Under the scrutiny of stylistic criticism, the two triptychs turn out to have been done considerably earlier than the larger Dresden *Adoration*, and probably a little later than the smaller one.

The large altarpiece in the Louvre, showing a *Lamentation*, a *Last Supper*, and a *Stigmatization of St. Francis*, was done about 1530 (19, Plate 41). The presence of a predella and a lunette, customarily parts of Italian *quattrocento* altar panels but uncommon in the Netherlands, confirms the belief that this work was created at the behest of an Italian donor for the Genoese church whence it comes. The altarpiece in S. Donato in Genoa also has a separately framed lunette (9, Plates 18, 19). Several portrait heads stand out from the stereotypes—the donors, husband and wife, at full-length, inserted in the main panel with the *Lamentation*. The *Last Supper* on the predella is shown in bust-length figures, and includes, in addition to the holy characters, two portraits, one of which has been recognized as a self-portrait of the master—the clean-shaven serving-man on the left. Joos here looks like a man of about 45. We have indeed a portrait of the master from the year 1529. On a shutter of Barthel Bruyn's altarpiece of the legend of St. Victor, in the Wallraf museum at Cologne (Plate 41 A), appears the painter himself, and beside him an older friend—possibly his teacher—a man with small eyes, short plump nose, large round nostrils, and wide mouth, who has been rightly identified as Joos, at the age of about 40, a bit younger than in the Paris predella.



The altarpiece from the Cologne church of St. Mary in Lyskirchen, now in the Staedelsches Kunstinstitut in Frankfurt, with a *Lamentation* as the centre panel, was donated in 1524, by trustworthy tradition<sup>2</sup> (15, Plate 31). This somewhat awkward composition apparently antedates the Paris altarpiece.

2. Merlo (Firmenich-Richartz), *Kölnische Künstler...*, col. 1144 f.

26 The predella of the latter work, like its main panel, shows a sensitive response to Italian influences. The *Last Supper* (19, Plate 41) is composed after the classic model of Leonardo. More than that, the powerful body of the dead Saviour also breathes a hint of the Southern High Renaissance. In the contrapposto of its limbs, the half-erect body, seen from the front and thrusting into the depth, seems as though seen by a sculptor, startling in its rugged impact. The thought obtrudes itself that the painter himself did the large altarpiece in Genoa only after having seen Leonardo's *Last Supper* in Milan. There is actually no compelling need for concluding that such a trip took place. Joos could have well seen a copy of the Milanese *Last Supper* at home; in any event, a Genoese merchant residing in Antwerp around 1530 should have had no difficulty in seeing to it that an altarpiece commissioned there for an Italian church had the monumental character, demanded by Southern taste. At the Paris court, moreover, where Leonardo had sojourned and where his memory was still alive, the Netherlander might have easily come in touch with the art of the South. It is true that the master entertained particularly close connections with Genoa, and if one feels compelled to conclude that he visited that city, it would have been most likely in the period between 1530 and 1533, in association with his sojourn at the French court. Once he had been set journeying by the honorific summons of the king, about 1530, Joos may well have visited further South. The Ligurian city had always exerted a certain fascination on the painters of the North. It may have tempted him all the more, since he had no lack of acquaintance with Genoese merchants and more than one work of his hand in Genoa already testified to his skill.

As is to be expected, the line of altarpieces that can be dated with more or less assurance, from 1510 to 1540, marks Joos as a Netherlander who was wide open to varied influences. Following the general trend of taste at the time, he gained more and more access to the South, which—so people then thought—was the abode of beauty. His forms grew larger, fuller, and more expansive, his compositions gained in solidity and proportion. Joos had breathed courtly air, had come to appreciate the rôle of show and dignity. Of course as we might anticipate from the laws of psychology, his mood and temperament ultimately slackened with mounting success and experience.

There was nothing Joos was so fond of proclaiming as the 'Joys of Mary'; and it is no accident that in the tradition that reached van Mander little had survived except that he painted 'Madonnas surrounded by angels'.

Filled with devout yet sensuous joy, the triptych in the Vienna Staatsgalerie, with a *Holy Family with an Angel* as the centrepiece, and the donor with his wife and saints on the shutters, resembles nothing so much as a

full-blown blossom (18, Plates 38-40). Done about 1525, with billowing contours and vigorous shadows in the flesh tints, this work seems purged of all youthful unrest and excessive embellishment, while there is no sign yet of any weariness, slothful routine or waning zeal.

For the most part, Joos showed the Virgin at half-length. In his time, this genre of home devotional picture was current and popular in the Netherlands. Copies and imitations in profusion testify to the fact that he—like his chief rival Jan Gossart—managed to meet a strong demand of his contemporaries for such gifts. In contrast to Gossart, Joos by nature turned more towards the bourgeois taste, rather than the more worldly and sophisticated demand Gossart tended to satisfy. His compositions are less 'arty', less ambitious than Gossart's.

Joos's Madonnas may seem almost too winsome, but they are never pretentious or obtrusive. His motives may be routinely exploited, but they are never tasteless, laboured, or inappropriate. Halfway between ecclesiastical unworldliness and genrelike humanity, his Holy Families are blessed assemblages, from which all sorrow, gravity and suffering are banished.

He was not the kind of master to grasp at every new device, to pursue the illusion of space and depth that turned so many works of the time into demonstrations of sheer virtuosity. Not that he fought off the trends of the times—he took and gave with equanimity, without scruple, although never eliciting challenges that were not readily within the limits of his capacity. He remained ever the decorator of a picture area, unfolding his whole action preferably in a single plane.

In my endeavour to arrange Joos's Madonnas in chronological sequence, I am, in the absence of inscribed dates, dependent on stylistic comparison. Yet we may profit from the knowledge gained from our scrutiny of the altarpieces and multi-figured devotional panels. Virtually all the compositions are preserved in several replicas and in copies. I shall, in each instance, single out the best specimen, one that may be with some assurance regarded the original.

The *Holy Family*, a painting that came to the National Gallery in London with the Salting Bequest (66, Plate 83), is plainly distinct from its variants, both in the postures and in execution. The child stands at the centre on a stone ledge, clasping his mother's bare breast with upraised arms. Joseph is visible at the left at bust-length, behind a lectern, wearing spectacles and a straw hat. The Virgin, in a richly draped kerchief, clasps the child from the back with her right hand, while her left reaches for a cluster of three cherries lying on the ledge. The panel is finished with exquisite care, in places with a degree of verisimilitude that detracts from the overall harmony. The tight furrows of the linen are of knife-edge sharpness, the flesh is rounded, with heavy shadows, the hands foreshortened with studious zeal. The Virgin is in half-face, grave of expression, with arching eyebrows and wide forehead, one large ear showing. The whole composition is carefully staged, with strong contrasts of light and dark. All the known replicas—including the one in the Vienna Academy (66b, Plate 84), which seems to be the master's

own work—are more casual and cursory in execution, poorer in detail. The Virgin's cheek line is less prominent, and all the forms are smoothed down. In my view, the virtues and weaknesses of the London panel are best explained on the assumption of an early date of origin.

In the type of the Virgin, the London picture comes close to a more modest panel in the S.R. Guggenheim collection at New York, which I saw when it was in the possession of a Munich art dealer (61a, Plate 76). Exceptionally, it is rounded at the top, a mark of Joos's early period, as we shall see when we put his portraits in chronological order. The face is conceived as a light disc, elaborated with less emphasis, tension and lingering care than the Salting Madonna, hence more in the manner familiar to us from the master's altarpieces done around 1515. A transparent veil has taken the place of the white linen kerchief. Joos's Virgins are almost never bare-headed.

A rather different type is displayed in the Madonna from the Kann collection (54, Plate 68). The motive is an unusual one—the mother allows the child to drink from a wineglass, her lips slightly parted in a smile. The child, with an excessively lofty head almost innocent of hair, is seated obliquely on an overstuffed, brocade-covered cushion, in a posture reminiscent of swimming, kicking his legs. Behind the Virgin, in the centre, is a wide masonry pilaster, on either side of which the view gives on foliage, houses and a hazy mountainscape less distinct and poorer in detail than usual, natural forms that serve as the background termination.

This panel seems to have been done about 1515. Close to it in time is a Madonna in the Huck collection at Berlin, with a similar landscape (60, Plate 75). The child leans against the crook of the Virgin's right arm, half-standing, half-lying, as she proffers him a pear. Her face is seen almost head-on, a vacant oval, with interior lines marking mouth, nostrils and half-shut eyes. The child turns smilingly to the front, his clumsily articulated body imperfectly modelled. Judging from the style and coloration, and from the clasping hand of the Virgin, this very light-coloured picture is beyond question the work of our master, but he seems to have borrowed the composition from the Master of Frankfurt. At least, I am familiar with a mediocre version of this composition that is reminiscent of the Master of Frankfurt.

Another example of a given motive modified is a *Holy Family*, which went from the Spiridon collection in Paris to the Friedsam collection in New York (65, Plate 82). It follows Jan van Eyck's Lucca Madonna, and a comparison with the original instructively reveals the personal inclinations of Joos van Cleve. It was easy for Joos to abstract his half-length Virgin from Jan van Eyck's full-length one without destroying its integrity, since the child is seated on his mother's lap with legs drawn up as though on level ground. The original thus prefigures a termination at the Virgin's knee level. At the bottom, Joos added a ledge, like a table, with the appurtenances of which he was so fond—a still life consisting of a row of savoury things, a covered glass vessel with wine, a fruit knife, half a nut, and a metal dish with fruit. Also added is Joseph, a beardless elder with a pair of spectacles and a scroll in his hands, his lean face framed in a dark hood, his lips parted wide

as he looks at the child with a startled expression. The small and delicate hands, and the unwonted precision—for example, in the child's skin where it is displaced by the Virgin's hand—derive from the model by Joos's inspired predecessor, which he could have scarcely copied without a pang of emotion and without scruple. This perfectly preserved panel stands out among Joos's Madonnas in intensity of expression, probably because he drew sustenance from the example of Jan van Eyck, whose forms he varied, while maintaining his own flexibility and stylistic self-assurance. Jan van Eyck's knife-sharp linear accents, his enshrouding chiaroscuro, are loosened and dissolved into sinuous forms and open tints. The Virgin's face, owing nothing to his model, recurs more than once as Joos's mature ideal of pulchritude—for example, in the *Holy Family* from the Holford collection (64, Plate 80), of which the Vienna Staatsgalerie preserves a replica of equal merit (64a, Plate 81). The Virgin's inclined head is seen in half-face, covered with a transparent veil, whose hems show flashing edge lights, her hair falling to the shoulders in individual wavy strands, her dark eyes narrowed beneath lowered lids, with the brows set high. The modelling is delicate, the corners of the mouth slightly turned up. She wears an air of gentle ecstasy and surrender, of giving herself over to her happy state. We are approaching the year 1520.

In later years, the modelling of the flesh is enhanced by heavier shadows, but the transitions do not relinquish their waxlike softness. An unexpectedly bold motive makes the Madonna at Cambridge stand out (59, Plate 74). The Virgin is seen in full face, her head slightly inclined to one side rather than forward. The child in her arm has fallen asleep, his head and right hand placed against her breast. She holds herself motionless, so as not to wake the child, and smiles with parted lips, the upper row of her teeth becoming visible. The contours of her head are sweepingly rounded, her dark eyebrows arched, eyelids, cheeks and chin deeply modelled. No other Madonna so authoritatively displays a radiant smile, without a trace of grimace, as a fleeting expression, determined by the mood of the moment.

It was Quentin Massys who had pointed the way to Leonardo, but Joos found his own direct approach to the Italian, whether in Paris or Milan. In basic conception, the *Madonna of the Cherries* goes back to Leonardo (63, Plates 78, 79). So called because the child holds clusters of cherries in both hands, this composition was repeatedly executed in the master's own studio about 1535, only to be copied by imitators. There are Milanese pictures with this same theme. In the best Netherlandish replicas, all the subsidiary features are Joos's invention—the colourful architecture, the ornamentation, an apple on the ledge in the foreground, the landscape. The child, on the other hand, is borrowed, directly or indirectly. He is painted in the style of the Renaissance, and more particularly of Leonardo, and was greatly admired in the Netherlands, as something novel and modern.

The strapping boy, no longer a baby, has full control over his body. His large head is turned to one side, while his trunk is turned almost convulsively to the other, with the arms crossed, the whole body extending vigorously

in depth, with foreshortenings and overlappings. This Netherlander certainly grasped the balanced contrapposto of Southern art, especially as practised by Leonardo; and to enhance the effect of this new ideal, he deepened the modelling of the flesh. We may well doubt, however, whether even the best surviving specimens of the *Madonna of the Cherries* were actually done by Joos's own hand, for those in the palace at Meiningen (63a, Plate 78) and from the Hainauer collection (63b, plate 78) display irritatingly heavy shadows. The intimate connection between mother and child, which invests the Netherlandish Madonnas with so much meaning, is loosened in this composition. Both physically and spiritually, the boy is escaping from his mother's care, not without a certain air of self-consciousness. The infant Jesus looks like a small Hercules, strangling serpents in his cradle.

Without a doubt an original is the Madonna in the Auspitz collection, done at a late stage, about 1535 (58, Plate 73). Here too the child asserts himself, with the same wilfulness as in the *Madonna of the Cherries*. The derivation of this motive from the Leonardo circle is probable but not proven. An apple on the stone ledge appears at the lower right, as in the *Madonna of the Cherries*. The Virgin is shown to the knees, against a neutral dark ground. Her face is rather vacuously pretty as she holds the child, who has risen from a pillow spread across her knees and struggles toward the right, as though glancing back while running. One arm reaches out across his face. His limbs seem to be impelled in various conflicting directions, as though by some internal motor, twisting his body spirally in space. His head, bare or covered with only a thin fuzz in the master's earlier Madonnas, here carries a thick shock of curls.

In his late works, Joos sometimes to a surprising degree calls to mind Andrea Solario, not only in respect of motives, but even in style and palette. There are various ways of interpreting this correspondence. Solario was trained by Leonardo, thus drinking at the same well as Joos. His affinity with Netherlandish painting has been noted more than once<sup>3</sup>, and an effort has been made to explain it from his sojourn in Northern France, from 1507 to perhaps 1510, in the service of Cardinal Georges d'Amboise, archbishop of Rouen. Joos may have seen paintings by Solario in France or Upper Italy. Comparing, for example, Solario's Madonna in the National Gallery<sup>4</sup> with Joos's Madonna in the Auspitz collection, we are inclined to posit a direct connection between the man from Antwerp and the much older man from Lombardy. Yet by 1530, the art of Leonardo had been so completely accepted by the Antwerp school—and particularly by our artist—that there may be no real need for assuming a direct connection between Solario and Joos.

In sum, we can distinguish overall three Madonna types. First comes the face with the small chin and the prominent cheek line—in the *Holy Family* from the Salting Bequest, for example (66, Plate 83). Next is the narrower head, more gently modelled, as in the *Holy Family* in the Holford collection (64, Plate 80). Lastly we find the heavily shadowed chiaroscuro head, plainly of Leonardesque derivation (63, Plate 78).

3. Kurt Badt, *Andrea Solario*, Leipzig, 1914, p. 157; Suida, *Leonardo und Sein Kreis*, Munich, pp. 197 ff.

4. Badt, *loc. cit.*, Pl. x.

Joos worked for the market, for the standard devotional demand for Madonnas, pictures of the Saviour, and representations of the saints, notably the church father St. Jerome. Looking over his œuvre, we note that he was seldom entrusted with unfamiliar legends or mythological themes. What was asked of him and his studio was straightforward compositions, suitably executed without difficulty—works lacking the spice of outlandish countenances or the tension of dramatic conflict. He stuck to tradition, to the well-known and familiar iconographical formulas, quite unashamed of borrowing—from Jan van Eyck, Gerard David and Quentin Massys in his early period, later on from Dürer and Leonardo—and doing his landscapes after the model of Patenier, the Antwerp master considered authoritative in this field.

There are examples aplenty to show just how adaptably and observantly he translated into his own pleasing idiom whatever new pictorial ideas turned up in Antwerp, doing so without being very profoundly influenced. Dürer stayed at Antwerp in 1520 and 1521, sowing his seed by selling, bartering and giving away his woodcuts and engravings. The resultant crop can be traced in the art of the Netherlands<sup>1</sup>. For a Portuguese patron in Antwerp, Dürer painted his *St. Jerome*, at half-length, now preserved in the Lisbon museum, which aroused the admiration of the Antwerp painters' guild. There were no exhibitions then, and, of course, no photographic reproductions. The original painting stood in mysterious gloom. Joos hastened to exploit the motive of the meditating church father. There are an unusually large number of Netherlandish copies and variants of this composition, the best of which display Joos's style (39, Plate 57). The popularity of this figure in the Netherlands is readily explained. On the eve of the struggles of the Reformation, the learned, brooding searcher after God represented an appropriate ideal; and the picture by the German painter, who was regarded with awe, carries a sense of austere gravity and scruple that comes through in even the most indifferent imitations. Dürer had chosen the half-length form familiar in the Netherlands (7), investing it with a moving and at the same time startling sense of realism, and preparing for the work down to the smallest detail, by means of drawings and studies directly from nature.

Another *St. Jerome*, at bare-chested half-length, showing the saint mortifying his flesh, is probably our master's own pictorial invention (40, Plate 57). Not nearly so felicitous a composition, it too has been widely copied, although not so often as the type created by Dürer. Candlestick and skull on the table, like the objects on and below the shelf at the upper left—glass, flask, rosary and holy-water font—are exactly as in the best specimens of the Dürer copies, but the saint himself is quite different in type. In place of the venerable elder with long hair and beard is a lean man with sparse, ragged whiskers, seated behind his desk with his jacket open, enabling him to pound his bare chest with the stone he holds in his right hand, while imploring God or crying out in ecstasy. It was, as a matter of fact, not customary to show Jerome chastising himself inside his hermitage, although the saint was often

<sup>1</sup> Cf. J. Held, *Dürers Wirkung auf die Niederländische Kunst seiner Zeit*, The Hague, 1931.

shown doing penance outdoors, in the solitude, ensconced in the countryside like a stage figure, in company only of a lion. This is the manner in which Patenier and his followers often represented the ascetic; and Joos, who seems to have learned about landscape from Patenier's pictures, took over this form as well. By far the best surviving specimen, almost certainly a work of his own hand, came on the market a few years ago from a private collection in Vienna (41, Plate 58) (81).

The Virgin is shown in the same relation to the landscape in a *Flight into Egypt*, in Brussels (49, Plate 63), and in a *Virgin with St. Dominic*, in the Louvre (50, Plate 64). Van Mander saw a picture of this type, and was told the landscape was Patenier's work<sup>6</sup>.

Massys painted a half-length Christ giving the blessing, transfigured with sorrow<sup>7</sup>. The picture is painted with such sublime sentiment, according with the spirit of the time, that Joos, facing a similar challenge, could not avoid following in the footsteps of his elder compatriot. We find in the Louvre a half-length, full-face representation of Christ as world ruler (34, Plate 53) and are able to note how the master, by slightly modifying the traditional pure and severe symmetry, turned this hieratic scheme into sensuous softness and nervous agitation. The eyes are a bit oblique and squint upwards towards the temples. The long-fingered hand gropes slackly and indecisively. This Saviour does not look as though he were invested with the authority of a judge; and nothing characterizes the master's mentality more clearly than the fact that he had much better luck in representing the infant Jesus in the rôle of world judge than the mature Christ aware of his mission. There is a picture, preserved in the Simon collection in Berlin, (35, Plate 54), showing the boy standing on a winged globe, holding a cross in his left hand, while giving the blessing with his right, a motive created by Joos quite on his own and never imitated or copied, so far as I know. The nude child, rosy of flesh, lofty of head, with hair reminiscent of ripe grain, is set against a blue ground. This little picture, showing the boy playing Saviour with naïve serenity, made its appeal to those among the faithful who were reluctant to hearken to graver and severer strains.

Lucretia, the Roman lady whose virtue has found her a place among the Christian martyrs, was represented more than once by Joos—at quite an early stage in his career, about 1515, in a panel owned by Herr von Auspitz in Vienna (69, Plate 88). The lady here plunges a long dagger into her body below her breasts. Pain is expressed with unwonted forthrightness in the contorted features and the large open mouth that resembles a gaping wound. The ribbons and banderoles fluttering against the dark, neutral ground on either side sound a vehement and arbitrary obbligato to the grim scene—in the style of the Antwerp Mannerists. Of later date—around 1520—and more in the master's customary style, in respect of the female type and the milder expression of pain, is the *Lucretia* in the Vienna Staatsgalerie (68, Plate 87), yet here too the veil flares wide to either side of the adorned head. The master, in honour of his pagan heroine, appears unwilling to forego the pathos of these curlicue embellishments.

6. Cf. p. 20, above, and also the chapter on Patenier.

7. Cf. Vol. VII, No. 5, Plate 12.

# The Portraits of Joos van Cleve

33

Joos was summoned to the French court soon after 1530, an honor that throws a sharp light on his stature. He must have been in the front rank among artists in Antwerp, respected, and tested as a portraitist.

The following tabulation of dated or datable panels provides a reliable basis for putting his many portraits in chronological order.

1509: The small *Portrait of a Young Man*, in the Oppenheimer collection, London (75, Plate 94).

1510 (?): *Portrait of the Emperor Maximilian*. A replica in the Musée Jacquemart-André is dated (71b, Plate 90).

1515: The donor portraits on the shutters of the triptych with the *Death of the Virgin*, in the Cologne museum (16, Plate 33).

1518 (?): *Self-Portrait of the Artist*, in the collection of Baron Thyssen (70, Plate 89). The date, not entirely certain, is deduced from the subject's appearance.

1520: A pair of portraits, in the Uffizi, Florence (118, Plate 125). The female portrait is dated by inscription.

1525: *Portrait of a Woman*, in the Cassel museum (119, Plate 127).

1526: *Portrait of a Man*, in the Cassel museum (119, Plate 126).

1527: *Portrait of a Man*, in the collection of Count Contini, Rome (76, Plate 95).

1530 (soon after): *Portrait of King Francis I of France*, in the Johnson collection, Philadelphia (72, Plate 92).

1530 (soon after): *Portrait of Eleonore, Consort of the King of France*, at Hampton Court (108a, Plate 113).

1536 (?): *Portrait of King Henry VIII of England*, at Hampton Court (73, Plate 91). On the question of its dating, cf. p. 21, above.

1537: *Portrait of a Man*, in the collection of Lord Leconfield, at Petworth (78, Plate 95). The date appears on a letter held by the subject.

Further helps in dating are the dress styles, especially the shapes of the hats, and the kinds of beard worn. In the South, in Upper Germany and at the Northern courts, full beards came in about 1520. It does not seem to have taken long for bourgeois society in the Netherlands to have accepted this fashion. The man in the Cassel museum (1526) wears a short beard. By about 1540, men were showing off their long, carefully groomed beards.

Joos began with portrait panels of small dimensions, gradually increasing both format and scale. The round termination at the top, a peculiarity of early portraits, is given up about 1520. The ground is light or of medium brightness, later a neutral dark. There is never any landscape background, all the more remarkable, since Memling often and Massys occasionally enhanced portraits with vistas into landscape depths. Pursuing the illusion of space and solidity with increasing consistency, the master, by the thirties,



sometimes let the shadows of frame and head fall upon the neutral ground, a trick Massys used as early as 1509<sup>1</sup>.

34

Joos favours portraits at waist-length, with the sitter seen almost head-on, and he lets the hands show over the lower edge of the picture. At first the fingers move conventionally and hesitantly, holding, say, a rosary or a flower. Later on their action grows more vigorous and individualized, occasionally rising to the level of rhetoric.

Although we do not possess the original of the *Portrait of the Emperor Maximilian* painted in 1510, we have good replicas—in the Vienna Staatsgalerie (71a, Plate 90) and the Musée Jacquemart-André at Paris (71b, Plate 90). It is unlikely to have been done from life and, in the specimens known to us, it is vacuous and tepid in effect, the face little more than a light disc, from which the dark pupils stand out with excessive and immediate prominence. In the weakly modelled self-portrait in the collection of Baron Thyssen (70, Plate 89), the dominance of the eyes seems natural, for the subject is seen in the rôle of observer. In this excellent original, the lines of the narrow, firmly closed mouth have a thin and slightly pointed subtlety, a personal note echoed in works done at about the same time—the small *Portrait of a Young Man* in the Uffizi, rounded at the top (79, Plate 96), and the two portraits in the Hoefer collection at Hattem (115, Plate 119). All three of these panels are rounded, leaving the heads set as though in medallions. Done not much later are the two narrow panels, rounded at the top, with likenesses of young men, which reached the market a few years ago from the Sulzbach collection in Paris (83, Plate 99) and from private hands in Geneva (82, Plate 99). Both have vigorous shadows along the side of the face and under the nose. Notable among other works that are, in my view, of early vintage (judging from the hard, stiff, bony fingers), is a female portrait in the Mayer van den Bergh collection in Antwerp (111, Plate 116), and a male portrait in Dresden (81, Plate 98), in which the sitter has one hand awkwardly placed upon a large book. Here as in the self-portrait in the Thyssen collection (70, Plate 89), the ground is a blue sky, lightening towards the horizon. The common characteristic of all these heads that marks them as dating from Joos's early period is a certain expression of timid modesty and a physical shallowness. With the group of portraits done around 1512 belongs the *Ritter von Baccharach*, from the Gotisches Haus in Wörlitz, now preserved in the Winthrop collection, New York (74, Plate 94). The curious style of dress and the unexampled embellishment of the ground with escutcheons can be explained only on the assumption that the master had to devise an ancestral portrait, or that he worked from an old model.

About the year 1520, Joos's approach seems to have gained in self-confidence. The gestures of the hands become more decisive. The man in the Uffizi slips a ring on one finger (118, Plate 125), the one in the Liechtenstein collection at Vienna draws on a glove (117, Plate 122). In place of cautious and subtle interior line, we find half-shadows bathing the swelling flesh and thick—even fat—hands. The female portrait in the Pinakothek (113, Plate 117), which looks a bit flat and bleached, on account

1. In the portrait in the Reinhart collection at Winterthur, cf. Vol. VII, No. 38, Plate 43.

of its state of preservation, falls into this period.

In the course of the twenties, Joos deepened his chiaroscuro, as confirmed in the couple at Cassel (1525 and 1526) (119, Plates 126, 127), and by the man in the Contini collection at Rome (1527) (76, Plate 95). The opaque shadows, unrelieved by reflections, no longer pile up against the clear, polished human shell, but drain away slowly and softly. The sitters have gained in breadth, fulness and solidity, but their character emerges with blurred edges, veiled, so to speak. Joos's *sfumato*, developed on the model of Leonardo, invests them with an air either of aristocratic aloofness or of jaded obtuseness. The heads are turned a little to one side, while the eyes keep looking straight out, creating a relationship of suspicious scrutiny with the beholder.

As examples, I mention the male portraits in the Deutsches Museum at Berlin (90, Plate 104) and in the Lyons museum (94, Plate 107), done about 1528, the man with the morbidly enlarged nose, in the Prado (89, Plate 103), presumably done about the same time, then the French royal couple (1530?) (72, Plate 92) and (108a, Plate 113), the English king (1536) (73, Plate 91), the bearded man in the Louvre (about 1535) (101, Plate 111), and the young man in Nantes (98, Plate 109), of about the same vintage.

All the portraits are in full-face, with a slight turn to the side, the profile line of cheek and forehead adding detail. The swelling portion above the eye overcuts the cheekbone and joins the contour of the brow. Here is the crucial point, the focus of the whole outline.

After 1520 Joos favoured neutral dark backgrounds, from which the flesh stands out luminously. An exception is the portrait of a man with a long, forked beard, now in the Tietje collection at Amsterdam (93, Plate 106). It reached the Berlin art market from Genoa, and may possibly have been painted there shortly before 1535. Probably at the behest of the sitter, it includes a number of objects that perhaps allude to his profession and his hobbies—a pair of gauntlets, a flute, a parrot, a book. To this end, the picture space is appropriately organized and partly illuminated.

Only seldom did a spark of the youthfully serene and amiable mood with which Joos trustfully regarded his saints leap over to his portraits. The challenge of the individual limited him, reminded him of the flaws and foibles of earthly life, and he became entangled in his quest for verisimilitude.

His line blurs individual peculiarity and feature, and especially in his later years, his style conduced to a harmonious mistiness of the picture as a whole.

A female half-length, the upper part of the body bare, which I recently saw in the possession of a Munich art dealer, stands quite alone—if, indeed, it can be regarded as a portrait at all (114a, Plate 118). By style and palette, it is the work of Joos van Cleve, done about 1535, and it looks surprisingly like a kind of step-daughter of the Mona Lisa. We know there are Italian variants on Leonardo's famous portraits, showing the lady nude—in a cartoon in Chantilly (Plate 118 B), for example<sup>2</sup>. Joos may have stood in awe before the original in France, or have seen the cartoon or some painting of an undraped female half-length. The features in his own painting are individualized, in the nature of a portrait. Possibly it is the likeness of a royal

2. Suida, *Leonardo und Sein Kreis*, p. 148, ill. 144.

mistress. Whoever she is, she smilingly displays her considerable charms with a kind of animal phlegm and naïve complacency. This additional piece of evidence suggesting a relationship between Leonardo and the Netherlander points to the French court and confirms the view that Francis I may have drawn the attention of the Netherlander whom he had summoned to the great Italian exemplar. Barthel Bruyn, in any event, took over the motive—by way of Joos, of course. His painting, in the Germanisches Museum at Nuremberg (Plate 118 A), shows a face of thoroughgoing portrait character.

## The Master's Youth and Old Age

Beginnings are hard, and so are ends. I echo the plaint of critics, whenever they come to the crucial point where a master separates himself from his predecessors and teachers, and again when they reach the limits where he hands on to disciples and imitators what he has learned. Apart from the start and the finish, a painter's course lies in the full light of day, especially in the case of our master. While, by his very nature, his beginnings were groping and tentative, his developed style achieved full acceptance in Antwerp and was calculated to attract many successful imitators. The task before us is to extend in both directions the firm and solid main body of his œuvre.

Of all the pictures with which the master's name is associated, none seems so amateurish and even feckless in effect as the *Deposition* in the Dresden museum (32, Plate 52). The painter who did this unsteady composition, full of contradictions, looks to have been inexperienced, to have had trouble escaping from 15th-century tradition; and he seems to have borrowed it in part from an old model, the *Deposition* by the so-called Master of Flémalle, of which we have a copy, in Liverpool<sup>1</sup>. Joos was at all times quite willing to borrow from others, but in no other instance did he fail so completely to blend what he borrowed with his own art. The panel is crowded with heterogeneous elements and lacks all spatial rationale. The archaic gold ground is conceived of as the back wall of a shallow shrine, somewhat in the manner of Rogier's *Deposition* in the Escorial (see Vol. II, No. 3, Plate 6)—of which Joos, by the way, on one occasion made a free copy (31, Plate 52). The logic of this scheme would require the figures to form a row at a single level within their flat box, to be spread out in relief at approximately the same distance from the eye. But not only has a plant-grown plot of ground here been inappropriately added to the shrine, the painter has senselessly endeavoured to project the illusion of considerable depth, by means of the kneeling Magdalene, seen from the back, the graduated figure scale, and the placing in depth of the Virgin, the disciple, and the third woman.

The painter's uncertain formal approach is no less evident in the drapery with its deeply recessed folds, running for the most part parallel, the frighteningly lean and chill body of the Saviour, and the uneven conformation of the heads. The linen looks as though it were hammered out of tin. The overall effect is one of frozen rigidity, with only a few parts, like the fore-shortened hands of the Virgin, drawing attention by their verisimilitude and revealing powers of independent observation. The coloration, vitreously smooth and glittering, does seem to accord with the master's personal taste, as we know it. What testifies most convincingly to his authorship is the types of some of the heads and the choice of local colour, including the fabric, iridescent in blue and violet.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Vol. II, I. No. 59 a, Plate 86.

So far as I know, this inwardly unready work, discrepant in its various parts, stands quite alone.

Far easier to incorporate into Joos's œuvre is a panel preserved in the Louvre, showing the Virgin and St. Bernard at half-length (48, Plate 62). It is a youthful work of charming naïveté, yet of a personal consistency perhaps inherent in the simple, tranquil theme; and it may serve admirably as a bridge between the Dresden *Deposition* (32, Plate 52) and the works generally acknowledged to be Joos's.

The Virgin is shown stiffly upright before a brocade runner, her thin fingers forming a grid, like the tines of a fork. The child is seated on a cushion, toying with a rosary, in an attitude reminiscent of the swimming movements commonly executed by the child in the master's *Adorations*. The saint is shown with lips parted, his eyes turned up slightly. Overall, the subtly elaborated picture seems to anticipate the master's numerous Madonna panels, with certain characteristic features, like the saint's 'studied' hands with their long fingers, seen in three dimensions; and there are other parts that agree with the Dresden *Deposition*, especially the child's head with its lofty brow, like the angels' heads in the other picture, and the sharp, deeply, channelled, vertical folds in the Virgin's white kerchief.

The girlish Virgin with her thin, frail neck, large head, lofty brow, deeply modelled cheek and small chin reminds of the Virgin in the *Holy Family* from the Salting Bequest (66, Plate 83), although in his fully developed type she was to take on more warmth and beauty and ripe womanliness. The Louvre panel is full of a certain coy grace. The note of mariolatry, later to proliferate and become diluted by surfeit, is here sounded for the first time in all its purity.

A third work in which the discerning critic senses a youthful product is, for once, dated, hence of increased importance in its biographical testimony. It consists of two modest shutters in the Louvre, each rounded at the top, showing *Adam and Eve* (21, Plate 46). On the simulated masonry at the bottom, both panels display the year 1507. At this point in time, four years before his admission to the Antwerp guild, Joos was a very young man, scarcely more than 22, presumably working in some place other than the Schelde port.

The nude figures stand in stone niches, as in the Ghent altarpiece and in Memling's shutters. Eve, more felicitous in configuration than Adam—even here the master shows more understanding of femininity than of masculinity—is somewhat unsteady in her stance, poised on plump feet like a dancer, her knees pressed together. She holds an apple in the fingertips of her raised right hand, while her left hand, turned to give a side view, holds a sprig of leaves before her pudenda. The contours of her body flow sinuously, with timidly indicated overlappings. Set against the dark background of the niche, the whole figure is pleasing in its casual grace. The face with its lofty brow, veiled gaze and smiling lips is fascinating in its innocent female guile. There are the first suggestions of contrapposto and chiaroscuro, the techniques of the new age.

The awkwardly constructed figure of Adam strides stiffly forward, legs crossed, head and trunk turned to the front, while his arms dangle slackly and without expression.

What little view is afforded of the master's origins and beginnings, his youth and apprenticeship, can be gained only from a study of the three works described. Different, each one from the other, they are like roots to the main body of his art. Eisenmann<sup>2</sup>, next to Scheibler the best connoisseur of early Netherlandish painting in the time around 1880, identified the Master of the Death of the Virgin as Jan Joest, the painter of the Calcar altarpiece<sup>3</sup>. This has turned out to be an error, albeit one that has proved productive in advancing our knowledge. The two painters are not identical, but there is so close a connection between them that we are compelled to infer a personal relationship [101]. Jan Joest was presumably born in 1460, Joos van Cleve almost certainly not earlier than 1485, hence the two did not belong to the same generation. Joos came from Cleve, while Jan Joest is mentioned in Calcar as early as 1480, creating the shutters for the altar there between 1504 and 1508. He seems to have come from Wesel. Cleve, Wesel and Calcar lie close together, forming a geographical unit.

One panel of the Calcar altarpiece depicts a *Presentation* (1, Plate 3). The altar within the Jewish temple shown holds a seven-branched candlestick; and up above, on the wall, is a triptych, a picture within a picture, appropriately enough displaying a *Fall of Man*, with Adam and Eve on either side of the tree as the centrepiece. In some traits, these figures agree with the *Adam and Eve* in the Louvre, by Joos van Cleve (21, Plate 46). The posture of his Adam becomes comprehensible, once we note that Joos apparently pursued the same goal as his senior compatriot, but was constrained by the narrow panel on which he had to work, as well as by his own timidity. In Joos's weak imitation, Adam's vigorous, vehement and purposeful stride on widespread muscular legs falters.

The original Adam throws out his arms, the other lets them droop down. A detailed comparison of the two representations—the 'picture-within-a-picture' at Calcar and the panels in the Louvre—allows the personal note of Joos van Cleve to come through clearly. The clear-cut narrative by the Calcar master has been translated into a delicate idiom, forfeiting dramatic expressiveness in the process. Eve has her hand turned over her pudenda, introducing a certain element of affectation. The whole course and pace of the action are paralyzed by a striving for harmony. The simultaneity of the two versions enhances the significance of their relationship. The panels in the Louvre were done at the time Jan Joest worked in Calcar. Prior to 1507, Joos could not have seen the altarpiece shutters in the church, only in the Calcar workshop. A device used by both painters—a trick the younger must have learned from the elder—confirms the plausibility of a connection. The texture of the masonry, its graphic shading, is characterized by means of hatching, parallel dark lines. We find this method employed in the Calcar altarpiece, as in many of the works by Joos van Cleve.

The third one in this group was Barthel Bruyn, who owed much to the

2. *Kunstchronik*, Vol. II, 1875, p. 74.

3. Cf. p. 11, above.

Calcar master<sup>4</sup> and did entertain a personal relationship with Joos. When Jan Joest began the Calcar altarpiece in 1504, Joos, then about 18, may well have been his assistant, and Barthel Bruyn, then about ten, his apprentice. This would be the simplest explanation of the relations that have been uncovered, but I distrust it precisely because of its simplicity.

By the year 1508 the Calcar altarpiece was finished, and Jan Joest turned to Haarlem. The stripling Bruyn may have followed him there, but Joos had flown the nest and may have sought his fortune in the West. Baldass<sup>5</sup> has elaborately conjectured that Joos worked in Bruges before his Antwerp period, rather overemphasizing his relation with Memling. There is much in favour of this surmise. The altarpiece by the so-called Master of Flémalle from which Joos took his *Dresden Deposition* (32, Plate 52) presumably stood in Bruges<sup>6</sup>. Joos willingly fell in with the cult of the Virgin, maintained especially in Bruges by Gerard David and his circle. But in my view the mainspring of his art lies in the region between Cleve and Wesel, along the Lower Rhine rather than in Flanders (111).

Joos died in 1540. We have followed his work into the thirties of the century, recognizing his late output in the altarpiece of three parts at Paris and in several portraits, such as that of Henry VIII at Hampton Court, presumably done in 1536. Does this mean that we have advanced to the final phase of his development? He was not very old when he died, perhaps no more than 55. If the two portraits at Windsor<sup>7</sup> (120, Plate 128) that gave rise to the myth of a younger Joos van Cleve represent himself and his wife—and from the evidence of the engraving and the verse beneath it we must so assume—we would have a very late example by his hand. Judging from his dress, headgear and beard, the man can scarcely have been painted before 1540, and he looks to be about 55. Up to this point, everything falls into a welcome pattern. Our only concern is whether this self-portrait can be made to harmonize with other portraits representing the master. Since beards came into fashion at that time, it is quite possible that Joos, who was clean-shaven until about 1535, as shown in the *Last Supper* on the predella of the altarpiece in the Louvre (19, Plate 41), grew a heavy beard at a later date. Indeed, this is quite probable, since it would have meant keeping in style. But a remnant of nagging doubt remains, in respect of both author and sitter. Testimony that it is Joos goes back a long time. The portrait engraving was published as long ago as 1572. The eyes, in a head that is almost in full-face, are slightly turned to the side. This gaze, the furrows at the root of the nose, the lower lip that protrudes from the heavy chin whiskers with a hint of brutality, and the deep shadows on one side of the face and in the hollows of the eyes—all these invest the sitter with an air of menace. He seems to be establishing contact with the beholder with an irate eloquence, underlined by an expository gesture of the hand. The nose is wide and fleshy, but does not look as short and snubbed as in the younger heads we have good reason for regarding as self-portraits of the master.

Considered purely in the light of style, the two portraits lie along the road whose direction we have perceived. Joos had advanced more and more

4. Fritz Witte has been kind enough to tell me about documentary researches that tend to establish a family relationship between Jan Joest and Barthel Bruyn.

5. *Joos van Cleve*, pp. 6 ff.

6. Cf. Vol. II, No. 59.

7. Cf. p. 18, above.

towards chiaroscuro effects, to expression enhanced to the level of pathos. Without claiming ultimate certainty, I incline to viewing the Windsor portrait as his likeness and a work of his hand.

Such a decision must be carefully weighed, since it brings on all manner of consequences. The works at Windsor once served as the point of departure for assembling the œuvre of a Joos van Cleve the Younger, and a large number of stylistically related portraits have been collected around the seemingly 'authenticated' pair. Some pictures have been erroneously included in this process. The dramatic and rhetorical gesture of the hand has been singled out as a personal characteristic, when it is in fact more in the nature of a special achievement and a peculiarity of the period. Jan van Scorel and Vermeyen were among those who started a movement for enlivening portraits by means of vivid gesticulation. The master of the Windsor portraits was merely falling in with a fashion. I shall not go into the whole heterogeneous group of portraits listed in the catalogues under the now obsolete name of Joos van Cleve the Younger, indicating only those panels among them that I believe to be possible late works by our master, inseparable from the pair at Windsor.

Closest of all to the male portrait at Windsor is an imperfectly preserved portrait in the Strasbourg museum (106, Plate 112), impressively representing at half-length a youthful, clean-shaven man resting his left hand on a table while his right hand is raised in an oratorical gesture. We are able to look inside this half-closed hand, the bent fingers of which, partly overlapping in depth, show the familiar part in a surprising aspect. The soft and sombrely shaded face, with a sidelong glance and flashing whites from the deep-seated eyes, is a bit vacant in expression but of grave dignity, much as in the Windsor portrait. The arms with the seven birds (doves) may yet be deciphered and provide information about the sitter. We should add in this place the representative male portrait from the Holford collection, presently in the possession of a Munich art dealer (107, Plate 112).

Joos's authorship is far more certain in the case of a male portrait in the possession of Earl Spencer at Althorp (105, Plate 112). Judging from the dress fashion, it cannot have been painted long before 1540, and it remains for me the latest indubitable work of our master. It is a rather archaically conceived bust-length picture that includes both hands along the lower edge. The dark pupils are turned slightly to the side in the face, which is kept light. Deep, opaque shadows gather in the hollow of one eye, beneath the nose and along one cheek. Blending gently, they shape and model the flesh. The hands are stiff and constrained, speaking an uncertain language, reminiscent in configuration and gesture of much earlier portraits by the master, like the Cassel portrait of 1527 (119, Plate 126) and the man with the mis-shapen nose in the Prado (89, Plate 103). From the latter, we can especially recognize the stubby-tipped thumb pressed against the index finger. Joos's habitual method of breathing life into his portraits, the gaze that deviates slightly from the direction of the head, allowing a flashing glimpse of the whites of the eyes, is used to suggest sudden attention coupled with a hint



of distrust and here combined with a declamatory gesture of the hand.

In the present state of our knowledge, we cannot place a full stop to Joos's career with any greater authority. Among those prominent in Antwerp as portraitists after Joos's death were Cornelis van Cleve, who presumably worked in his hometown between 1541<sup>8</sup> and 1554; Willem Key, who began in 1542; and the Master of the Forties, who presumably worked in Antwerp between 1541 and 1551, judging from the dates in his portraits. Willem Key's considerable stature is reasonably discernible. There is a chance that the oeuvre of Cornelis van Cleve will yet emerge clearly, with the aid of van Mander and many entries in inventories<sup>9</sup>. Only then will it become possible to draw the dividing-line between father and son with certainty.

8. Cornelis's name does not appear in the guild register, but as it happens, the names of newly qualified masters are missing for the year 1541.

9. An attempt is made in the next chapter to ascribe certain devotional panels to him.

# The Imitators of Joos van Cleve

Apart from the apprentices listed in the guild registers, Joos may have drawn on other assistance. Reviewing what is left of his œuvre—and we must assume that much of it has been lost—we find clear evidence that precise and excellent copies were made in his studio, especially of the half-length Madonnas. It is almost certain that his compositions were also imitated in the workshops of other masters, more or less accurately.

There is one painter of slight talent, wholly beholden to Joos, whom we can recognize from his persistent quirks. For the most part, he repeated well-known compositions of his teacher, and in those cases where originals are not known to us, we must consider the possibility that they have been lost.

In my catalogue of Joos's works, I have designated those copies in which I confidently recognize the hand of this disciple as the products of 'Imitator A'. It seems scarcely worth-while to enumerate everything I have seen of him. Typical example of his work is a half-seated, half-supine infant Jesus in the Antwerp museum (Plate 76) [12], shown in precisely this posture in a Madonna panel which I reproduce as one of his more felicitous works<sup>1</sup> (Plate 76) [13]. This painter is identified by his cold, whitish, opaque flesh tints, and the black shadows patchily inserted into the flesh. The pupils are dead and dark, the eyebrows either absent or placed excessively high. All his faces have an aged and stunted look. The fingers are broad and blunt. Unless my eyes deceive me, the vagaries of this assistant appear in pictures done in the workshop of Joos van Cleve at a rather early stage.

Joos availed himself of student help, as was then the custom, primarily in the execution of grisailles on the outside shutters. In some instances, the quality of these paintings is so poor that the intervention of assistants seems beyond question—e.g. in the triptych with the *Death of the Virgin* in the Munich Pinakothek (17, Plate 37). There is some justification for identifying 'Imitator A' as Claes van Brugghe, who is the master's only apprentice entered in the guild register between 1516 and 1523. A *Claes Bousant, scildere*, became master in 1523, the same year in which Joos registered a new apprentice, and he may well have been that same Claes, from Bruges.

Assistants make their presence felt by faults rather than virtues. The best among them remain unidentified, because their work merges into that of their masters.

There is a series of limp Madonnas created by another imitator of Joos van Cleve between 1530 and 1540. A particularly appealing half-length among this group was misconstrued by even so knowledgeable a connoisseur as Scheibler, who published it in the *Zeitschrift für Christliche Kunst*. The panel was auctioned in Cologne in 1895 with the Nelles collection (Plate 78 A) [14]. Ingratating within his limited style, this master nevertheless

1. In 1931, this painting was in the possession of Malmédé & Geissendörfer, art dealers in Cologne.

lags behind Joos. He can be readily recognized by a mannerism, even on superficial scrutiny. He has a habit of giving a light sawtooth hem to his linens. A half-length Madonna freely rendered after Gerard David is by his hand. It is in the Rotterdam museum and in it the Virgin is feeding the child from a spoon (Plate 78B) [151].

44 An important follower [161] who continued the work of Joos van Cleve painted an *Adoration* in the Antwerp museum (c. 8, Plate 130) once in the local cathedral, noted especially by Justi. It is indeed worth-while to follow this painter's work. He is represented with Madonnas in the Bruges museum (c. 9, Plate 131) and the church of St. James in Antwerp (c. 12, Plate 131), with a huge *Adoration* in the Hermitage at Leningrad (c. 13, Plate 132), and with a *Nativity* in the private apartments in Buckingham Palace (c. 25, Plate 135). He has a better claim than any other known painter to be considered Cornelis van Cleve, Joos's son who was active between 1540 and 1554. One argument favouring this identification is a signature, C × B, that appears in a harsh and mediocre copy of the Antwerp *Adoration*, preserved in the Staatsgalerie at Vienna [171].

His relation with Joos van Cleve becomes abundantly clear in a *Lamentation* that has come on the art market in Florence from private hands in Genoa (c. 15, Plate 133). It follows the composition of the large Louvre altarpiece, but the forms have been radically modernized. I reproduce it as an instructive example, together with an excellent Madonna I have seen in the possession of a New York art dealer (c. 16, Plate 133).

## The Character of Joos van Cleve

45

When one thinks of Joos van Cleve, the image that obtrudes itself is that of a festive, colourful bunch of posies—cherry reds, cerulean blues, deep luminous greens—and of relaxed, swinging rhythms. Steeped in an optimistic outlook on life, the master kept to the sunny side. Faith conferred visions of delight upon him. He pictures pleasant objects, comfortable furniture, soft cushions, flavoursome fruit, warm and capacious clothing, clean and tidy houses, trees dressed in summer foliage. We scarcely note his evildoers and henchmen; his laments do not reach our ear. True, he dutifully recorded the Passion, but we scarcely remember it. A fluttery sense of bustle is about the only trace of dramatic action.

Like Massys, Joos was attuned to the feminine element, although his approach is less aristocratic and spiritualized. He was fond of tarrying in the nursery, where the mother carefully observes the events that are important to her—her son's nursing and feeding and sleep, his first steps and reachings. Hands grope and fondle, with delicate fingers inured to playing on musical instruments. The child snuggles up to the soft, warm body of his mother, or lustily wriggles his well-nourished limbs. The Virgin surrenders to the joys of the moment, without an inkling of the fate to come.

The rosy flesh, lacking bone, muscle and sinew, is at first seen simply as a light-coloured round, later on as a smoothly modelled shell, framed in fur and brocade. Joos avoided edges and corners, preferring agreeably gentle transitions. Such contrapposto as he achieved is balanced in dancelike movement, his chiaroscuro veils and covers but does not organize the picture. More and more, the mosaic of local coloration blends into a slightly languid harmony.

Compared with the ambitious Jan Gossart, Joos remained stuck in the easy traditions of his calling; yet in the end he appears as a modern, in the light of his ability for projecting swelling bodies in space through gentle trails of shadow.

Joos may not enter deeply into the tragic aspects of the Christian faith, but all the more jubilantly does he celebrate the bliss of the Virgin and of the female confessors. With easy assurance, he strikes a note of rejoicing, whenever his subjects are the untroubled life and undiluted joy of the Holy Family and the angels. His sinuously flowing forms and smooth palette fit his emotional mood like a glove. His airy and colourful chambers are embellished to underline the general air of jubilation. It is precisely when they are at rest that his blooming creatures seem fully alive and soaring on by wings, while in the grip of dramatic action they seem at first to fidget, later to subside into rigidity. The harmonious structure of his groups rests upon spiritual concord among their members. They are happy because they please one another, and they please themselves because they are happy.

Joos strove for beauty. At first blush, the concept of 'beauty' seems so devoid of meaning as to have almost nothing to say to us. Beautiful is what pleases the eye, and one might imagine that no artist had ever desired to do anything but that. Yet surrendering themselves to their visions, masters tend to pursue accuracy, expression and verisimilitude and become unselective, the least of their concerns being what might or might not please others. The 'naïve' artist does not deliberately work to please. The 'sentimental' artist—and in the sense here intended our master's generation and he himself are in high degree sentimental—keeps his observation under the control of preconceptions, and endeavours to hit upon and fix what he and others have found to be 'beautiful'. Hence, instead of creating new forms, he tends to use forms already coined, whether by others or himself. Nevertheless, the boon of beauty is vouchsafed the artist who trusts to his observation. Striving for truth, he brings to light beauty of a new kind. Joos, on his part, belongs to those who stick to tested effects, who, fearing the variability of the individual, land up with stereotype and formula. More and more, he entered upon the excessively emotional note Massys had first struck and elevated to the level of the only valid expression of religious sentiment. Joos, however, more sensuous in disposition, fell behind his predecessor in gravity and dignity.

Dürer, of the same generation as our master, also strove after 'beauty', in his profound and didactic way, by seeking to plumb its laws. Joos neither delved nor experimented, but settled upon a formal world that flattered the eyes, once he had hit upon his own taste and that of his contemporaries. Motives with which Massys and Leonardo had been successful were readily accepted. What Leonardo [18] offered him were the varied constellations of sinuously intertwined bodies, seen in one aspect or another, the flow of movement, bodies gliding smoothly in space. What Leonardo offered him was the perfect and unbroken modelling of bodies by means of shadows that move imperceptibly from light to dark. The flesh appears completely intact, of waxy smoothness, without unevennesses, wrinkles or furrows, never impeding the shadows, which flow over it and drain away. Joos's formal idiom lacks the stops and sharp divisions and barriers Massys sets up, like consonants between vowels. What Leonardo taught him was to veil his naturally open local colour with chiaroscuro.

Where Joos resembles the old Bruges master, Hans Memling, is in that he too took the easy way in the matter of types, accepting individualization in only slight degree, and becoming a successful portrait painter, without a facility for real character analysis. Like Memling, Joos softened and polished the unique individual configuration that confronted him, later on bathing it in a merciful twilight. His sitters never assault us outspokenly with their individuality. They are separated from us by a cushion of air, from which the personality sounds forth only in a discreet whisper.

As for landscape, Joos entertained no personal relationship with nature, never functioned as an autonomous observer. The countryside was never a spatial element to him, nor even a scene of action, but rather something

with which to fill the picture area. Perspective, foreshortening, the graduation of background scales—these served him less to project the infinity of space than to make the figures to the fore appear all the larger, by contrast with the fussy detail of the background with its separate existence. Zigzag lines blaze a trail from the greenish-brown foreground to the pale blue distances. Crumbling, mossy rocks alternate with dark masses of foliage. Grotesque crags rise obliquely in the middleground, often above the horizon, while behind them hills, river courses, bridges, paths, houses and mills form a panorama seen in geographical perspective. Joos adopted Gerard David's solid walls of foliage, as he did Patenier's backgrounds, attaching them to his own figure groups. Never do we find a locale derived directly from the pictorial theme, stemming from the overall idea. Whether the kings approach the infant Jesus, or whether the cross looms on the Mount of Calvary, the land stretches away behind, in the noonday light of mid-summer, beneath an indifferent sky speckled with white clouds.

Joos developed an enamel-like brushwork technique he was able to apply to large areas, executing major commissions with relative speed. Some of his pigments, notably brown tints, are spread so thin and dilute that the lines of the quick drawing underneath remain visible.

Joos has been confused with Jan Joest, but the two are distinct in generation as in destiny and disposition. Joos separated himself from the sources of his strength. During the crucial period when Mannerism began to burgeon, he went to Antwerp, where he surrendered to the trends of fashion and chose his models from many styles. His own grew impoverished in the measure in which he sought variety by means other than the observation of life.

Joos's reputation will continue unimpaired, as it did in his lifetime, so long as the merit of a Netherlandish picture is measured by clean craftsmanship, so long as unexceptionable prettiness ensures success.

## Supplement to Jan Joest

48 Certain dates have now been established for Jan Joest, through the documentary researches of F. Wittes, published in Vol. I of *Tausend Jahre Deutscher Kunst am Rhein*, 1932, and the special volume, *Quellen zur Rheinischen Kunstgeschichte*, p. 135.

Apparently born in Wesel, he is documented as a borough archer in that town in 1474, and in the same capacity in Calcar in 1480. In 1490 he is again mentioned in Wesel, and in 1491 in Calcar. In 1505 he received the commission for the great altarpiece in Calcar. In 1506 and 1508 payments were made to him for the Calcar altarpiece. In 1509 he is mentioned in Haarlem, where he bought a house in 1510. In 1512 he received a commission for an altarpiece in Werden. In 1515 he is again shown to be in Haarlem. He died in 1519. His 'brother-in-law' Bartholomew (Bruyn?) gave the Church of St. Willibrord at Wesel a gold-worked tabart from Joest's estate.

It does not seem likely that Barthel Bruyn, born in 1493, could have been brother-in-law to Jan Joest, who was born in 1450. Possibly Joest's executor was his son-in-law.

The master seems to have been much-travelled. I am virtually though not entirely certain that he did an excellent Netherlandish work in Lübeck, the shutters of the Brömse altarpiece in the Church of St. James (supp. A, Plate 245). Heinrich Brömse, who appears as the donor with his sons, died in 1502. The altarpiece was presumably commissioned by his son Nicholas in 1510.

(from Volume XIV)

## Cornelis van Cleve

Scholars, misled by van Mander, have tried to make a distinction between an older Joos van Cleve, the Master of the Death of the Virgin, and a younger painter of the same name, who supposedly became insane in Britain in 1554. Early on, however, C. Justi, in the *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen* (Vol. 16, 1895, p. 32), carefully studied an *Adoration of the Magi* in the Antwerp museum (No. 464) (c. 8, Plate 130), rightly sensing that this work might serve to identify an able follower and heir of the master, then designated as Joos van Cleve the Elder. The panel comes from the memorial to Louis Clary in the Antwerp cathedral. A crude copy, on reserve in the Staatliche Galerie in Vienna [19], is signed *C × B*, and Justi cautiously proposed that these initials might stand for Cornelis van der Beke. We now feel certain that there was but one Joos van Cleve and that his son, named Cornelis, was born in 1520, became mentally ill and died soon after 1554.

Cornelis's working life spanned only about fourteen years, but during that period he was quite productive. Inventories of Antwerp collections of the 16th and 17th centuries list a considerable number of his paintings, twice under the name of Cornelis van Cleve, very often under the designation *Sotte Cleve*. Rubens owned two of his paintings. His name is not to be found in the Antwerp guild registers. There is a ready explanation for this. Since he was Joos van Cleve's son, Joos did not have to register him as an apprentice. Cornelis, furthermore, may have attained master's status in 1541, directly following his father's death, and it is precisely for this year that the list of new masters is missing!

On the basis of the Antwerp *Adoration*, Justi has ascribed several other panels to this master. I have added some more and am now in a position to enlarge the œuvre considerably. More important than a complete catalogue, however, it seems to me, is to adduce additional arguments that support the identification of Cornelis van Cleve as the author of the Antwerp *Adoration*.

It is useful to compare this work with Adorations by Joos van Cleve himself, such as the centrepiece of the Prague altarpiece 7, Plate 14) and the one from the altarpiece in the Church of San Donato, Genoa 9, Plates 18, 19). We note with some surprise that the follower, presumably working about 1550, while departing quite sharply from his predecessor in formal idiom—breadth, format, softness, enhanced chiaroscuro—never rid himself of certain details that marked models lying some 25 years in the past—the metallic style of ornamentation, the fussy and old-fashioned background landscape. The relationship is most plausibly explained on the assumption that the master of the Antwerp *Adoration* inherited drawings from the studio of Joos van Cleve—was his son, in other words.

Old inventories of the royal possessions at Windsor list a *Nativity with Angels in the Clouds* under the name of *van Cleve* (cf. Justi, *loc. cit.*, p. 14).



This is probably the same panel which I saw in the private apartments of Buckingham Palace and which displays the style of the master of the Antwerp *Adoration* at his most mature (cf. No. 25, below).

50 The master of the Antwerp *Adoration* on two occasions used a composition that goes back to Andrea del Sarto<sup>1</sup>—a *Virgin with St. John the Baptist as a Boy and Three Angels*. I saw one specimen in the possession of an art dealer in Lucerne (c. 5, Plate 131), and the other, smaller one (done later, judging by the style) in Basle, with the art dealer Schulthess (c. 7). One Antwerp inventory includes the noteworthy statement that a *Virgin and Child with St. Anne* by Sotte Cleve was copied after Andrea del Sarto.

1. In the style of del Sarto exemplified in the museum at Lille and elsewhere.

(from Volume XIV)

# The Catalogues

## CATALOGUE A : THE PAINTINGS OF JAN JOEST, ARRANGED BY SUBJECT. THE POLYPTYCH ALTAR- PIECES ARE GIVEN FIRST

51

1. (Plates 1-6) *Shutters of the High Altar*. Church of St. Nicholas, Calcar. Two panels each above and beside each other, outside and in, in addition to two narrower top panels, each also painted on both sides—a total of 20 representations.

Outside: *The Circumcision*. *The Adoration of the Magi*. *The Presentation in the Temple*. *Christ among the Doctors*. *The Baptism of Christ*. *The Transfiguration of Christ*. *Christ and the Woman of Samaria at the Well*. *The Raising of Lazarus*.

Inside: *The Capture of Christ*. *Christ Crowned with Thorns*. *Christ Shown to the People*. *Christ before Pilate*. *The Resurrection*. *The Ascension*. *The Festival of Whit Sunday*. *Death of the Virgin*.

Top panels, inside: *The Nativity*. *The Annunciation*. Outside: *Moses and the Serpent of Brass*. *Abraham's Sacrifice*.

Each main panel measures 107 × 86, the top panels 153 × 70. Documented to have been done by Jan Joest between 1505 and 1508. The central shrine contains wood carvings made between 1498 and 1500 by Master Loedewich [20]. See p. 12. Published in full in reasonably good reproductions by St. Beissel, *Das Leben Christi von Jan Joest...* Kühlen, Mönchen-Gladbach, 1900. There are excellent recent photographs in the picture archive of the Rheinisches Museum in Cologne, from which our plates are made.

2. (Plates 7-10) *Altarpiece with Eight Panels: The Sorrows of Mary*. Cathedral, Palencia. In the centre a large tall panel, a *Pietà*, with St. John and the donor. Above and to the right and left, seven smaller scenes:

*The Presentation in the Temple*. *The Flight into Egypt*. *Christ among the Doctors*. *Christ Carrying the Cross*. *Christ on the Cross*. *The Lamentation*. *The Entombment*.

The altar panel is about 200 × 140. See C. Justi, *Miscellaneen...* Vol. 1, pp. 329 ff. The donor, Juan de Fonseca, Bishop of Palencia, commissioned the work in 1505 in Brussels, *Juan de Holanda* [21] being named as the master. See p. 11. Our plates are from small photographs taken by the photographer Alonso in Palencia [22].

3. (Plate 11) *The Nativity*. Collection of Professor von Bissing, Munich (about 35 × 25, curved at the top). See p. 16. • Present location unknown.

4. *The Nativity*

a. (Plate 11) von Kaufmann collection, Berlin, auction of 1917, No. 110 (101×70). Probably an old copy. See p. 15. • Auctioned on 23rd June 1967 at Christie's, London, Cat. No. 73. Present location unknown.

52 b. (Plate 11) von Kaufmann collection, Berlin, auction of 1917, No. 134 (135×152). By Barthel Bruyn, dated 1516. A free replica. • Now in the Stedelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt-on-Main, No. 1652; 137×151.5 cm.

c. Valenciennes museum (70×74). A wide panel, by the Master of Frankfurt [23]. • No. 201.

d. Robert Lehman collection, New York. A tall panel, a replica by the Master of Frankfurt [24]. • 57.1×39.4 cm.

e. (Plate 11) Private ownership (69×50). A precise, dry copy. • Now in the Dunedin Public Art Gallery, Dunedin, New Zealand.

o f. In addition to the replicas mentioned, an old copy turned up on the Vienna Art market in 1933 (Schatzker) 1151.

5. (Plate 12) *Pietà, with St. John*. Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne, from the Sigmaringen Gallery (63×42). Formerly in the Weyer collection. Attributed to Bruyn by Scheibler. An early, competent work, still entirely under the influence of the Master of the Death of the Virgin. See p. 15. • Now in the Heinz Kisters collection, Kreuzlingen (Switzerland).

6. (Plate 12) *Virgin and Child with St. Anne*. Art market, Berlin. (L. Blumenreich, 1928). From the Cumberland collection, Hanover. See p. 16. • Sold at the London auction of the Gow collection, 28th May 1937 (41×26, rounded at the top). • Now in the Columbus Gallery of Fine Arts, Schumacher Collection, Columbus, Ohio, Inv. No. 57.14; 50.7×34.9 cm.

CATALOGUE B: THE PAINTINGS OF JOOS VAN CLEVE,  
ARRANGED BY SUBJECT. ALTARPIECES AND  
POLYPTYCHS ARE GIVEN FIRST, FOLLOWED BY  
SINGLE PANELS OF A RELIGIOUS CHARACTER, AND,  
LASTLY, THE PORTRAITS

7. (Plates 13-15) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Adoration of the Magi*: on the shutters, the donor with three sons and St. Jerome, the donatrix with three daughters and St. Lucy; verso, *Virgin and Child with St. Anne, St. Catherine*. Rudolfinum, Prague, No. 412 (71.5×69—31.5, originally curved at the top). About 1516. • Now in the National Gallery, Prague, Inv. No. Do-37.

8. (Plates 16, 17) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Adoration of the Magi*: on the shutters, Sts. Catherine and Barbara; verso, Sts. Christopher and Sebastian. Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, No. 578 (72×52—22, curved at the top). About 1513. • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

a. Private ownership (M. V.-B.), Basle (66×33.5). A replica of the centre-piece. Shown in Basle in 1928, No. 57. • Present location unknown.

9. (Plates 18, 19) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Adoration of the Magi*: left shutter, the donor with St. Stephen; right, the Magdalene; verso (by a later hand), *The Annunciation*; lunette, *The Crucifixion*. Church of San Donato, Genoa (160×136—65). About 1518.

53

10. (Plates 20, 21) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Adoration of the Magi*: on the shutters, the two junior magi; verso, *The Annunciation* [26]. Art market, Berlin (Bottenwieser, 89×64—28.5, rounded at the top). Sold at the Bangel auction, Frankfurt, 1911, to van Gelder, Uccle. On the scabbard of the senior magus, by the side of two crossed staffs, the initials J—B, which must be taken as the master's signature. On the collar of the greyhound on the right shutter appears an escutcheon with the arms of the counties of Cleve and van der Marck, and a second escutcheon with an anchor. These armorial bearings appear almost identically on the Naples triptych. See p. 19. About 1520. • Now in the Detroit Institute of Arts, Detroit, Mich., Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Edgar B. Whitcomb, Acc. No. 45.420; 87.5×64—27.5 cm.

a. (Plate 22) Naples museum, No. 575 (116×93—40). A fairly close replica of equal merit, without the master's initials. • Museo di Capodimonte, Inv. No. 844.39.

b. Art market, Rome (Jandolo, 1930). A fine old replica, with some differences in the ornamentation. The arms and initials are absent. Dimensions as in the original. • Present location unknown [27].

11. (Plates 23-25) *Altarpiece with Shutters, Christ on the Cross*: on the shutters, the donor with three sons and St. Mark, the donatrix with two daughters and St. Margaret. Naples museum, No. 576 (91×56—25, curved at the top). Armorial bearings appear in the upper parts of the shutters. Verso, *The Annunciation*. In original frame. About 1516. • Museo di Capodimonte, Inv. No. 844.89; 91×58—89×25 cm.

a. (Plate 26) John G. Johnson collection, Philadelphia (Catalogue II, No. 374, 31×25.5). A mediocre imitation of the centre-piece. • 32.4×28 cm.

b. (Plate 26) Pinakothek, Munich, No. 58 (76×57, reserve). A copy of the centre-piece. • Inv. No. WAF 156.

12. (Plate 27) *Altarpiece with Shutters, Christ on the Cross*: on each shutter, two saints, St. John the Baptist, St. Catherine, St. Anthony of Padua, St. Nicholas of Tolentino. G. Blumenthal collection, New York (98×73—33, curved at the top). Formerly in private hands in Genoa, then in the A. Thiem collection, San Remo. The donor is shown kneeling in the centre-piece. About 1520. • Now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, G. Blumenthal Collection, Inv. No. 41.190.20 A-C; 98.5×74.4—101×32.7 cm.

13. (Plate 27) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Crucifixion*: on the shutters,

kneeling donors without patron saints. Art market, London (Th. Harris, 1929). From the master's late period. The warrior figures to the right, at the foot of the cross, are unusually vivid and exotic. The landscape in the centre-piece coincides with that in the Paris altarpiece. • Present location unknown.

- 54 14. (Plates 28–30) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Deposition*: on the shutters, the donor with St. John the Baptist; the donatrix with St. Margaret. National Gallery, Edinburgh, No. 125 (105×70—32.5, curved at the top). There are armorial bearings in the upper parts of the shutters. About 1518. • No. 1252; 106.7×71–109×31.8 cm.

15. (Plate 31) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Lamentation*: left shutter, *St. Veronica*; right, *Joseph of Arimathea*; verso, *The Annunciation*, in grisaille. Städelches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt, No. 93 (113.5×84—38.5). Formerly on the high altar of the Church of the Virgin, Lyskirchen, Cologne, donated by Councillor Johann Schmitgen in 1524. • Inv. No. 803.

a. (Plate 31) Art market, London (1930). The shutter with *St. Veronica*, possible a workshop copy. • Sold at Sotheby's, London, 4th March 1970, No. 22, 63.5×35 cm. Present location unknown.

16. (Plates 32, 33) *Altarpiece with Shutters, Death of the Virgin*: left shutter, Sts. Nicasius and George with male donors, kneeling; right, Sts. Christina and Gudula, with the donors' wives; verso, in grisaille, *The Virgin with Sts. Christopher 1281, Sebastian and Roch.* Wallraf-Richartz museum, Cologne, No. 442 (63×123—57). The donors were Nicasius Hackeney and George, the former being Emperor Maximilian's 'Reckoner'. He died in 1518, George in 1523 or 1524. The Boisserées acquired this altarpiece from a Frau von Schlossberg, who was a descendant of the Hackeney family. Wallraf acquired it from the Boisserées by exchange. It is dated 1515. It was originally in the residential chapel of the Hackeney family on the Neumarkt. On one of the window panes is an indistinct sign: Jøb. See p. 24. • Inv. No. WRM 430.

17. (Plates 34–37) *Altarpiece with Shutters, Death of the Virgin*: on the left shutter, Sts. Nicasius and George with the male donors, kneeling; right, Sts. Christina and Gudula, with the wives of the donors; verso, in grisaille, *Virgin and Child with Sts. Anne, Christopher, Sebastian and Roch.* Pinakothek, Munich, Nos. 55–57 (132×154—73). From the Church of the Virgin in the Capitol, Cologne. Painted not much later than the smaller altarpiece in the Wallraf-Richartz Museum, which is credibly dated 1515. The richly adorned gallery beneath which the altarpiece stood was also a donation of the Hackeney family, completed in 1523. The saints on the verso are mediocre, probably the work of assistants. • Inv. Nos. 150, 151, 152; 127×154—70 cm.

18. (Plates 38–40) *Altarpiece with Shutters, The Virgin Enthroned*, with Joseph and an angel: on the shutters, Sts. George and Catherine, with the donor

couple: verso, partly destroyed, Sts. Sebastian and Christopher, in grisaille. Staatliche Galerie, Vienna, No. 683 (94.5×70—30). About 1520. See pp. 26 f. • Inv. No. 938 in the Gemäldegalerie im Kunsthistorischen Museum.

19. (Plate 41) *Triptych, The Lamentation*: above, *St. Francis Receiving the Stigmata*; below, *The Last Supper*. Louvre, Paris, No. 2018 a (75×145—146×206—45×206). From the Church of Santa Maria della Pace, Genoa. The head at the extreme left of the predella, of a serving-man with a pitcher, is apparently a self-portrait of the master. The composition of *The Last Supper* is a free adaptation after Leonardo da Vinci. About 1530. See p. 25. • Inv. No. 1996; 75×146—145×206—45×206 cm.

55

20. (Plates 42–45) *Shutters from a Carved Altarpiece (the Reinhold Altarpiece)*. Church of the Virgin, Gdansk (Danzig). Eight panels, *The Passion*. See Kaemmerer, *Jahrbuch der Preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, Vol. 11, 1890, pp. 150 ff. Indistinctly signed J-b. About 1515, with unfamiliar traits, possibly due to the work of assistants. The large saints on the versos are the best part. Supposedly installed in 1516. See p. 19. • Now in the National Museum, Warsaw, Inv. No. 185.007; centre: 194×158 cm, predella: 61×155 cm, the two wings: 194×158 cm 1291.

21. (Plate 46) *Adam and Eve*, outer shutters of an altarpiece. Louvre, Paris, Nos. 2208, 2209 (61×21 each). Dated 1507. See p. 38. • Inv. Nos. R.F. 839 and 840.

22. (Plate 46) *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters, St. Catherine and The Magdalene* at full-length. The two panels have been joined into one 1301. Art market, Munich (Böhler, 1911, 80×54). About 1518. • Now in a Private collection, Belgium, 80×28 cm each.

23. (Plate 47) *A Pair of Altarpiece Shutters*, with portraits of donors. Collection of Sir Hickman Bacon, Gainsborough. With a landscape in the background. About 1525. • Now in the Sir Edmund Bacon collection, Raveningham, Norfolk, 73.6×25.4 cm each.

24. (Plate 46) *St. John the Baptist*. Muller auction, Amsterdam, 8th April 1930, No. 177 (89×25). About 1518. • Now in the Mrs. H. A. Wetzlar collection, Amsterdam.

25. (Plate 47) *The Annunciation*. M. Friedsam collection, New York. Shown in Bruges in 1902, No. 276 (83×79.5). From the J. Porgès collection, Paris. Well-preserved, except for a defect in the Virgin's robe. About 1525. • Now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, The M. Friedsam Collection, Acc. No. 32.100.60; 86.3×80 cm.

26. (Plate 48) *The Nativity*. Staatliche Galerie, Vienna, No 685 a (74×53). Acquired in 1921. About 1514. • Inv. No. 6347 in the Gemäldegalerie im Kunsthistorischen Museum.

27. (Plate 49) *The Adoration of the Magi*. Dresden museum, No. 809 (110×70.5, curved at the top). About 1513. See pp. 22 f.

a. (Plate 49) Lepke auction, Berlin, 11th November 1913, No. 72 (110×70, on canvas, rounded at the top). A faithful copy. • Present location unknown.

b. (Plate 49) Cernuschi auction, Paris, 1900 (114×74, on canvas). A faithful copy. • Sold at Parke-Bernet, New York, 26th November 1943, No. 63. Present location unknown.

28. (Plate 50) *The Adoration of the Magi*. Dresden museum, No. 809A (251×85, rounded at the top). From the Church of San Luca d'Erba near Genoa, supposedly 'saved' by Count Schulenburg during the siege of Genoa and presented by him to King Augustus III. About 1525. See p. 23. • 251×185 cm.

29. (Plate 51) *Christ on the Cross*. Verschuer auction, Amsterdam, 1902, No. 402 (88×61). About 1518, in the style of the Naples Crucifixion altarpiece, but different in composition. Perhaps original. • Now in the Saaveda Zelaya collection, Buenos-Aires.

30. (Plate 51) *Christ on the Cross*, with the Virgin and St. John. Boston museum, No. 107, from the E. Weber collection (80×64). About 1525. • Acc. No. 12.170.

31. (Plate 52) *The Deposition*. John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia (Catalogue II, No. 250, 44.5×49.75). A free copy after Rogier's *Deposition* in the Escorial 1311, with an added landscape. About 1518. • Cat. No. 373; 115×126.5 cm.

32. (Plate 52) *The Deposition*. Dresden museum, No. 1965 (87.5×69.5). In part a free copy after the so-called Master of Flémalle, a copy of which is preserved in the Liverpool museum (see my Vol. II, No. 59 a, Plate 86). About 1507. See p. 37.

33. (Plate 53) *Christ the Gardner*, with the Magdalene. Art market, Munich (Böhler, 1915, 67×52). About 1516. • Sold at Parke-Bernet, New York, 5th November 1942. Present location unknown.

a. (Plate 53) Suermondt Museum, Aachen. Reproduced in *Aachener Kunstblätter*, 1911. The landscape in this replica differs from the other specimen and is more in the master's wonted manner. • Cat. No. 97; 59×48 cm.

34. (Plate 53) *Christ Giving the Blessing*, in half-length 1321. Louvre, Paris, No. 2030 (54 × 40). About 1515. See p. 32. There are a considerable number of copies of this composition, with variations. A fine specimen, possibly an original (50 × 40), was on view at Ullrich Jaeger in Genoa in 1911 (Plate 53). Another is at Alleyns College, Dulwich (Plate 53). • The picture at the Louvre, Paris, Inv. No. R.F. 187. The painting formerly in Genoa, was auctioned on 7th June 1972 at Lempertz, Cologne, cat No. 104; 50 × 36 cm. The specimen at Alleyns College, Dulwich, Cat. No. 271; 27.6 × 21.3 cm.

35. (Plate 54) *The Boy Jesus Standing on a Globe*. Collection of Dr. James Simon, Berlin (37 × 26). About 1518. See p. 32. • Now in the Dr. Heinrich Becker collection, Dortmund.

36. *The Boy Jesus, Seated, Eating Grapes*.

a. (Plate 54) Art market, Aachen (Ant. Creutzer). Formerly in private hands in Madrid. • Present location unknown.

b. (Plate 54) Basner collection, Zoppot (25 × 19). Formerly in the W. Gumprecht collection, Berlin. • Now in the Gemäldegalerie, Wiesbaden, No. 551.

37. *The Boys Jesus and John, Kissing*. A composition going back to Leonardo da Vinci and repeatedly used in Joos van Cleve's studio (See also Quentin Massys, my Vol. VII, No. 29. Plate 34).

a. (Plate 55) Naples museum, No. 122 (56 × 56). About 1530. Possibly an original. • Museo di Capodimonte, Inv. No. 83879.

b. (Plate 55) Mauritshuis, The Hague, No. 348. • 39 × 58 cm.

c. (Plate 55) Nieuwenhuys auction, Brussels, 1883, No. 7. • Now in the Bierbeek collection, France, 71.5 × 61.5 cm.

d. Art market, Munich (J. Böhrer). Upright format. An imitation. • Present location unknown.

e. Cremer collection, Dortmund. A copy by Imitator A. • Present location unknown, 42 × 53.5 cm.

f. R. Brocklebank collection, London. Shown in London 1899-1900, No. 87 (28.25 × 21.25 inches). • Present location unknown.

g. (Plate 55) Vienna Academy, No. 464 (50 × 58).

Among Italian paintings, this motive is found, for example, in B. de' Conti's *Madonna in the Brera*, Milan.

38. *Mater Dolorosa*, in half-length.

a. (Plate 56) Collection of Count Czernin, Vienna (71 × 57). Possibly an original. • Now in the Residenzgalerie, Salzburg, Inv. No. Czernin collection 60; 72.5 × 59 cm.

b. Palazzo Spinola, Genoa. An original. The kerchief placed a bit differently than in a.

c. (Plate 56) Han Coray auction, Berlin, 1930, No. 53 (48 × 34). The kerchief exactly as in b. A fine replica. • Now in the C.V. Hickox collection, New York.



d. (Plate 56) Oslo museum (Langaard collection, 68×52). The kerchief as in a. • Acc. No. 1349.

There are a number of mediocre copies of this composition, with a *Christ Giving the Blessing* as the pendant. The Lisbon museum has a variant specimen in a more recent style.

39. *St. Jerome*, in half-length, in his cell, head resting on hand. This composition is borrowed from the painting which Dürer did in 1521 for a Portuguese patron in Antwerp and which is preserved in the Lisbon museum. The best of the very large number of Netherlandish versions and at the same time those that reproduce Dürer's model with relative fidelity are reminiscent of Joos van Cleve [33]. See p. 31.

a. (Plate 57) Duke of Fife auction, London, 18th July 1924, No. 110. Shown at the Guildhall, London, in 1906, No. 44 (61×46). • Present location unknown.

b. (Plate 57) Provinzialmuseum, Hanover, Photo Bruckmann, No. 301. • Prinzen von Hannover, Herzog zu Braunschweig und Lüneburg collection, Nordstemmen, 63×50.8 cm.

These two specimens coincide in virtually every detail and clearly bespeak the formal idiom of our master, whereas the many other replicas, for the most part crude, of which I enumerate only a few, move farther and farther away from the Dürer original by virtue of various additions, and also depart from Joos van Cleve in style.

c. Private ownership, Berlin. With Renaissance ornamentation on the back-wall. • Present location unknown.

d. Collection of Lord Spencer, Althorp. Fine execution, possibly by Barthel Bruyn. • Present location unknown.

e. (Plate 57) John G. Johnson collection, Philadelphia. An imitation leaning strongly towards caricature. • Cat. No. 387; 75×60.3 cm.

40. *St. Jerome*, in half-length, with bare body, holding a stone in his right hand. The best specimens of this oft-repeated composition clearly display the style of our master.

a. (Plate 57) Private ownership, Milan (1928) (63×50). Excellent in execution, possibly by our master. No. 81 in the Bonomi Cereda auction of 1896. • Present location unknown.

b. (Plate 57) Salzburg museum. Reproduced in Graefe, *Jan Sanders...* Pl. 21. • Inv. No. 115/28 in the Museum Carolino Augusteum.

c. (Plate 57) Chillingworth auction, Lucerne, 1922, No. 3 (64×52). In every detail like a, but a bit harsher. • Present location unknown.

d. Princeton University (67×56.5). • Acc. No. 28-40.

e. Palazzo Rosso, Genoa. With a neutral dark background. • Inv. No. P.R. 70; 65×52 cm.

41. (Plate 58) *St. Jerome Chastising Himself*, outdoors. Holzapfel collection, Vienna (sold, present whereabouts unknown, 72×58). Reproduced in

*Österreichische Kunstdenkmäler*, Vienna, Vol. 2, p. 72. About 1513. • Art market, Vienna, 1936 (Silberman). • Now in the Hackley Art Gallery, Muskegon, Mich.

59

42. (Plate 58) *St. Jerome Chastising Himself*, outdoors. von Kaufmann auction, Berlin, 1917, No. 86 (42×32). • Present location unknown.

a. Brussels museum 1341, No. 60. A replica of equal merit.

b. (Plate 58) Landesmuseum, Oldenburg (40×29). A mediocre copy. • Inv. No. 107 in the Landesmuseum für Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte, Oldenburg.

43. (Plate 58) *St. John on the Island of Patmos*. Otto H. Kahn collection, New York (72×71). Shown in Düsseldorf in 1904, No. 59. • Now in the Museum of Art, The University of Michigan, Alumni Memorial Hall, Ann Arbor, Michigan; Acc. No. 1958/2.77.

44. (Plate 59) *The Magdalene*, in half-length. Rosenheim collection, Berlin, auctioned by Muller, Amsterdam, 9th December 1930 (36×27). About 1530. • Present location unknown.

a. (Plate 59) Spencer Churchill collection, Northwick Park (36×27). A faithful replica of approximately equal merit. Reproduced, Arundel Club, No. 10, 1913. • Captain E. G. Spencer Churchill auction at Christie's, London, 28th May 1965, No. 44. Present location unknown.

b. V. Gay auction, Paris, 1909, No. 4 (35×27). A copy, with differences, chiefly in the dress. • Present location unknown.

45. (Plate 60) *Virgin and Child with St. Anne*. Modena museum, No. 315. About 1516. • Galleria Estense, 59×44 cm.

a. (Plate 60) Cremer auction, Berlin, 1929, No. 10 (57×46). A copy by Imitator A. • Present location unknown.

b. (Plate 60) Art market, Vienna (St. Lucas Gallery). An old copy. • Auctioned on 28th April 1932 at Munich. Present location unknown, 58×39.5 cm.

46. (Plate 61) *Virgin and Child with St. Anne and Joseph*. Art market, New York (Kleinberger, 1930, 73×57). From the Sigmaringen museum. • Auctioned on 28th November 1962 at Parke Bernet, New York. Present location unknown.

a. (Plate 61) Poznan museum (Raczynski collection, 79×59). A fine old copy.

b. (Plate 61) Collection of Count Fürstenberg-Herdringen, Herdringen. A copy by Imitator A. • 83×70 cm.

47. (Plate 61) *Virgin and Child with St. Anne and Joseph*. Brussels museum, No. 105 (109×74, rounded at the top). Acquired in 1844. About 1518. • Inv. No. 565.

48. (Plate 62) *The Virgin with St. Bernard* 1351. Louvre, Paris (29×29). From the Doistau collection. About 1508. Sec. p. 38. • Inv. No. R.F. 2230.

60

49. (Plate 63) *The Virgin on the Flight into Egypt*. Brussels museum, No. 349 (54×67.5). Acquired in 1884. The landscape coincides in almost every detail with Patenier's in the *Virgin in the Dr.* Ed. Simon auction (No. 232). This particular figure of the Virgin is repeatedly seen inserted into landscapes displaying Patenier's style (e.g. Museo Filangeri, Naples, and the Berlin art dealer V. Bloch, 1929). In a painting in the Prado, Madrid, it is seen also in a landscape connected with neither Joos van Cleve nor Joachim Patenier. • Inv. No. 2928.

a. (Plate 63) Schleissheim. A replica in tall format, with a different landscape. • Now in the Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek, Munich, Inv. No. WAF 154; 61×46 cm.

50. (Plate 64) *Virgin with St. Dominic, Outdoors*. Louvre, Paris, No. 2018b (57×55). The landscape is entirely in Patenier's manner. • Inv. No. R.F. 2068.

51. (Plate 65) *The Virgin*, in half-length, holding the suckling child with her right hand. Art market, London (Spanish Art Gallery, 1911). From Portugal. The motive goes back to Gerard David (Prado, Madrid, Bosch collection) and was used also by Adriaen Isenbrant in full-length. About 1512. • Art market, Amsterdam, 1934 (de Boer). • Later in a private collection, Sweden. Present location unknown.

a. Staedelsches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt. A copy with additions, possibly by Imitator A.

b. (Plate 65) Art market, Berlin (Dr. Benedict, 1930, 50×37). From the I. E. F. Murray collection, Florence. A good imitation. • Auctioned in June 1950 at the Fischer Gallery, Lucerne. Present location unknown.

c. (Plate 65) Lázaro collection, Madrid. An imitation. • Now in the Museo Lázaro-Galdiano, Madrid, Inv. No. 3057; 42×30 cm.

d. Art market, Berlin (Bachstitz, 1928, 41×30). An imitation. • Present location unknown.

e. Art market, London. Similar to the original, but without the brocade background. • Present location unknown.

52. (Plate 66) *The Virgin*, in half-length, holding the sleeping child with the right hand. Von der Heydt collection, Bonn. From the von Kaufmann collection, auction of 1917, No. 87 (80×56). A restored original, with a neutral dark ground. • Present location unknown.

a. (Plate 66) Brussels museum, No. 601 [37] (53×41). A copy with marked differences. The landscape unfamiliar. • Inv. No. 365.

53. *The Virgin*, in half-length, holding the sleeping child with both hands.

a. (Plate 67) Rudolfinum, Prague (49.5×36). Possibly an original, about 1515. • Inv. No. Do-209 in the National Gallery, Prague.

b. Germanisches Museum, Nuremberg. Relinquished; in 1923 with A. S. Drey, Munich (43×23). Perhaps an original. The landscape unfamiliar. • Now in a private collection, Hanover.

c. (Plate 67) A. Langen auction, Munich, 1899, No. 96 (35.5×28). Similar to b. • Now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Budapest, Inv. No. 4314; 36.5×28.8 cm.

d. (Plate 67) Formerly in the collection of Count Kutusov, Leningrad (48×35). A copy after a. • Now in the Museum of Art, James E. Roberts Gift, Indianapolis, Acc. No. 24.8; 48×34 cm.

e. (Plate 67) Art market, London (Douglas, 1928, 52×44). From the Orléans Gallery. An original with the landscape quite different. • Estate of the Late Mrs. A. H. E. M. Philips-de Jongh, Eindhoven, 51×36.5 cm.

f. (Plate 67) Art market, Amsterdam (Goudstikker, 1921). A copy, with a table with a fruit bowl added below. • Now in the Mr. and Mrs. Bier collection, Melle (Belgium), 58×37 cm.

54. (Plate 68) *The Virgin*, in half-length, giving the child to drink from a glass. R. Kann collection, Paris, present whereabouts unknown (50×37). Shown in Düsseldorf in 1904, No. 57, Plate 18. • Present location unknown.

a. (Plate 68) Budapest museum (Pálffy collection, 52.5×42). A replica of approximately equal merit. • Inv. No. 4329.

55. (Plate 69) *Virgin and Child*, bust-length, the child's head at the bare breast. Rathenau collection, Berlin, from the M. Kappel collection (22×17). Reproduced in Bode's catalogue of the Kappel collection. About 1512. • Present location unknown.

a. (Plate 70) Ferstel collection, Vienna (25×20). A copy. • Present location unknown.

b. (Plate 70) Yerkes auction, New York (24×19). A copy. • Now in a Private collection, Buenos Aires.

c. (Plate 70) Monchen auction, Amsterdam, 1907, No. 9 (26×19), previously in the Jacques auction. A copy 1381. • Present location unknown.

d. Weiner collection, Leningrad. A copy with an unfamiliar Madonna type. • Present location unknown.

e. (Plate 70) Art market, Munich (A. S. Drey, 1925, 23×17). A copy. • Present location unknown.

f. (Plate 70) Art market, London (Spanish Art Gallery, 25.5×19.5). A copy by Imitator A. • Present location unknown.

g. von Nemes collection, Munich (23.5×19). A copy • Now in the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Atkins Museum of Fine Arts (Nelson Fund), Kansas City, Mo., Acc. No. 31-115; 22×18 cm.

h. Helbing auction, Munich, 29th November 1921, No. 544 (26.5×21). A mediocre copy. • Present location unknown.

i. (Plate 70) Art market, Amsterdam (Goedhart, 1908, 27×21). A mediocre copy, the style much watered down. • In the J.W. Zwicky collection, Freiburg i.B. in 1938. Present location unknown.

k. Art market, New York (Ehrich). An enlarged copy with additions, at the front a sill with apples. • Present location unknown.

l. Faenza auction, Milan, 1902, No. 140 (30×24). A copy with additions similar to k. • Present location unknown.

m. de la Béraudière auction, New York, 1930, No. 250. • Present location unknown.

56. *Virgin and Child*, the child eating an apple.

a. (Plate 71) Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge 1391. A good imitation or copy. • No. 17 Marlay Bequest in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, 27.6×21.6 cm.

b. (Plate 71) Sigmaringen museum (sold in 1929, 24×20). A weaker copy. • In 1947 at the Koetser Gallery, London. Present location unknown.

c. (Plate 71) Czartoryski Museum, Cracow. A copy, the Virgin without a kerchief. • Inv. No. 115 in the National Museum, Czartoryski collection, Cracow, 22.5×18 cm.

d. (Plate 71) Von Rhò collection, Lucerne. A mediocre copy. • Lucerne, auction 31th. August 1933, No. 457. Present location unknown.

57. (Plate 72) *The Virgin*, in half-length, the child sleeping at her breast. E. Odier auction, Paris, No. 6 (70×52). An original from the period around 1525. • Auctioned at Parke-Bernet, New York, 27th June 1962. Present location unknown, 73.5×54.5 cm.

a. (Plate 72) Art market, Paris (55×40). An old copy. • Present location unknown.

58. (Plate 73) *Virgin and Child*, in half-length, the child running towards the right. von Auspitz collection, Vienna (60×46). From Palencia. About 1530. See p. 30. • Now in the William Rockhill Nelson Gallery of Art, Atkins Museum of Fine Arts (Nelson Fund), Kansas City, Mo., Acc. No. 33-50; 61×46 cm.

a. (Plate 72) Art market, Paris (Neumans, 1926; Bignou, 1922). A replica of equal merit. • Now in the Cincinnati Art Museum, Cincinnati, Ohio, lent by the Cincinnati Institute of Fine Arts, No. 2860. 1934; 61×46.4 cm.

59. (Plate 74) *The Virgin*, in half-length, holding the sleeping child to her breast. Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (60×45, canvas on wood). An original of about 1528. See p. 29. • No. 104; 61×45 cm.

a. (Plate 74) de Munter collection, Louvain (63×47). Shown in Antwerp in 1930, No. 75. A doubtful original, in a poor state of preservation. • Now in the Museum Vander Kelen-Mertens, Louvain.

b. (Plate 74) R. von Schnitzler collection, Cologne (60×45). A good imitation. • Now in the Heinz Kisters collection, Kreuzlingen (Switzerland).

60. (Plate 75) *The Virgin*, in half-length, with bare breast, holding a pear in the left hand. W. Huck collection, Berlin (55×42). The composition may

have been borrowed from the Master of Frankfurt. See p. 28. • Now in the Städelches Kunstinstitut, Frankfurt-on-Main, Inv. No. 2091; 57×43 cm.

a. (Plate 75) Mayer van den Bergh Museum, Antwerp. A copy. • No. 31a; 61.2×46.3 cm.

61. (Plate 76) *The Virgin*, in bust-length, holding the child with both hands. Diamond-shaped. Art market, Amsterdam (Goudstikker, 1921, 35×36). About 1525. Perhaps an original. • Present location unknown.

a. Art market, Berlin (Rosembaum, 1929, 25×26). Diamond-shaped, as above, of approximately equal merit. • Present location unknown.

b. Art market, Berlin (Haberstock, 1924, 33.5×31.5). Normal format, with added architecture. A copy by Imitator A. • Present location unknown.

61a. (Plate 76) *The Virgin*, in half-length. Guggenheim collection, New York (33×21). About 1514. • Auctioned on 16th July 1971 at Christie's, London, Cat. No. 90; 31.8×21.6 cm. Present location unknown.

62. (Plate 77) *Virgin and Child*, in half-length. Staatliche Galerie, Vienna, No. 684 (74×56). An original, about 1520. • Inv. No. 836 in the Gemäldegalerie im Kunsthistorischen Museum.

63. *Virgin and Child*, in half-length, the so-called *Madonna of the Cherries*. A composition going back to Leonardo da Vinci and often used in the studios of Joos van Cleve and his followers. See p. 29. The best replicas, agreeing in the ornamentation of the throne structure, are given first.

a. (Plate 78) Meiningen castle (74×53). • Now in the Suermondt-Museum, on loan from the Ludwig collection, Aachen.

b. (Plate 78) E. A. Faust collection, St. Louis (64×54). Formerly in the collection of Count Pourtalès, Paris, and the Hainauer collection, Berlin. • Now in the Mr. and Mrs. M. B. Wallace, Jr. collection, St. Louis, Miss.

c. (Plate 79) Oldenburg museum. • Inv. No. 105 in the Landesmuseum für Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte, Oldenburg, 75.5×54.5 cm.

d. Art market, London (Sabin, 1927). From the Leyland collection. • Now in the B. Feuerstein collection, Philadelphia, Pa., 77.5×59.5 cm.

e. (Plate 79) Spencer Churchill collection, Northwick Park, reproduced, Arundel Club No. 13 (61×49) 1401. • Present location unknown.

f. Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, No. 616 (70×58). • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

g. Buckingham Palace, London. Reversed.

h. Cook collection, Richmond (69×50). • Present location unknown.

i. (Plate 79) Art market, Paris (J. Seligmann, 1929). • Present location unknown.

k. (Plate 79) W. Goldman collection, New York (45×39). • Present location unknown.

This list by no means exhausts the copies that are known.

64. (Plate 80) *The Holy Family*, the Virgin in half-length. Art market, London (Sabin, 1929, 73 × 55). From the Holford collection. About 1525. • Now in the Currier Gallery of Art, Manchester, N.H., Acc. No. 316; 74 × 56 cm.

a. (Plate 81) Staatliche Galerie, Vienna, No. 682 (63 × 49). The figure of Joseph formerly overpainted. A close replica of equal merit. • Now in the Thyssen collection (Schloss Rohoncz), Lugano. • Cat. No. 84. of the Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection (Schloss Rohoncz Foundation), Castagnola, near Lugano.

b. (Plate 81) Art market, Paris (78 × 60). From the Klinkosch collection, Vienna, and the Hoe collection, New York. A copy by Imitator A. • Present location unknown.

c. Palazzo Balbi-Senarega, Genoa (according to the Vienna catalogue).

d. (Plate 81) L. Hirsch collection, New York, present whereabouts unknown. A much-restored copy. • Present location unknown, 42.5 × 31.7 cm.

e. (Plate 81) Navas collection, Madrid. A copy by Imitator A. • Present location unknown.

65. (Plate 82) *The Holy Family*. M. Friedsam collection, New York (42.5 × 31.5). From the J. Spiridon collection, Berlin auction of 1929, No. 73. Apart from the Joseph, the composition is borrowed from Jan van Eyck's Lucca Madonna [41]. About 1513. See p. 28. • Now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Michel Friedsam Collection, Inv. No. 32.100.57; 42.5 × 31.7 cm.

a. Art market, Paris (Kleinberger, 1910, 27 × 13, rounded at the top). Lacking the Joseph. A fine piece by an imitator. • Present location unknown.

b. (Plate 82) Art market, Paris (Trotti, 1928). An old copy, perhaps by Imitator A. • Present location unknown.

c. Art market, Munich (Böhler, 1922, 40 × 29). Without the Joseph. Possibly an original. • Present location unknown.

d. (Plate 82) Athenaeum, Helsinki (44 × 30.5). A careful replica by a follower. • Inv. No. 1739 in the Art Museum of the Atheneum.

66. (Plate 83) *The Holy Family*, the Virgin in half-length, the child standing. National Gallery, London (Salting bequest), No. 2603 (49 × 36). The excellently foreshortened hand of the Virgin is not seen in any of the replicas. See p. 27.

a. (Plate 84) Percy Strauss collection, New York. An original, the hands of the Virgin posed in a different way, as in all the replicas that follow. • Now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Edith A. and Percy S. Strauss Collection, Houston, Texas, Acc. No. 44-528; 44 × 33 cm.

b. (Plate 84) Vienna Academy, No. 556 (53 × 40). Somewhat overcleaned, perhaps an original.

c. (Plate 84) Hermitage, Leningrad, No. 469. An old copy, rather close to a. • Inv. No. 411; 42.5 × 31.5 cm.

d. (Plate 84) Private ownership, Paris (1925). A late copy, like a. • Present location unknown.

e. Staatliche Galerie, Vienna (eliminated, 47×32). A mediocre copy with a dotted gilt ground.

f. Art market, Munich (E. Meier, 1929, 46×36). A copy with a different Joseph and a dotted gilt ground. • Present location unknown.

g. (Plate 85) Worcester 1421 (U.S.A.) Art Museum (55×37). A fine old replica. • At a time in the P. Lehman collection, New York. Present location unknown.

h. (Plate 85) Fr. Lippmann auction, Berlin, 1912, No. 41 (52×37.3). Very much like g. • Now in the Bob Jones University, Collection of Religious Paintings, Greenville, S.C., No. 138; 52.7×38 cm.

i. Musée des Vosges, Epinal. A copy resembling g and h. By Imitator A.

k. Art market, Munich (Böhler, 1919, 51.5×35.5). Without the Joseph, the child in a different posture. A good imitation. • Present location unknown.

l. Art Institute, Chicago (Ryerson collection, 47.5×37). With the Joseph, the child as in k and m. From the von Nemes auction, 1913. • No. 33.1038.

m. (Plate 85) G. Blumenthal collection, New York (47.5×35). The Joseph as in a, the child in the posture of k and l. Possibly an original. • Now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, Blumenthal Bequest, Acc. No. 41.190.19; 51×37 cm.

n. (Plate 85) Collection of Countess E. Shuvalov, Leningrad. With the Joseph, the child in still another posture, seated at the right. An imitation. • Present location unknown.

o. Private ownership, Cologne, curved at the top. Without the Joseph, the child quite different. An imitation by Barthel Bruyn the Elder. • Present location unknown.

p. Musée Grobet-Labadie, Marseilles (45×31). A mediocre copy, like a. • Now in the Musée des Beaux-Arts, Grobet-Labadie collection, Marseilles, Cat. (1964) No. 65.

q. Sélyz-Lonchamp collection, Liège (note in the Marseilles catalogue). • Present location unknown.

r. Mauthner-Markhoff collection, Vienna. A copy, the child as in k, l and m. • Present location unknown.

67. (Plate 86) *Virgin and Child*, with four angels. Ch. Weld Blundell collection, Ince Hall (82×65). About 1525. The angel on the right, with the music sheet, as in the panel by the Master of the Morrison Triptych, which in its main part is copied after Memling 1431. (On these links, see my Vol. VII, pp. 41 f). • Now in the Colonel J. Weld collection, Lulworth, Wareham (Dorset).

68. (Plate 87) *Lucretia*, in half-length. Staatliche Galerie, Vienna, No. 687 (74×56). About 1523. • Inv. No. 833 in the Gemäldegalerie im Kunsthistorischen Museum, 76×54 cm.

a. (Plate 87) Bargello, Florence (Carrand collection). A fine replica. • No. 20 from the Carrand Collection, in the Museo Nazionale, Palazzo del Bargello, 77×61.5 cm.



b. (Plate 87) Art market, London (Larsen 1931, 76 × 50). A rather faithful replica of equal merit (without the gloves). • Now in the M. H. de Young Memorial Museum, San Francisco, California, 76 × 60.5 cm; Acc. No. 54.651.

69. (Plate 88) *Lucretia*, in half-length. St. von Auspitz collection, Vienna (47 × 38). About 1518. • Now in the Ruzicka-Stiftung, Kunsthaus, Zurich, Inv. No. 6; 49.5 × 41.5 cm.

In the following list of portraits, the men are given first, followed by the women and lastly the paired portraits.

70. (Plate 89) *Self-Portrait*. Baron Thyssen collection, Schloss Rohoncz (38 × 27). From the Count Redern, von Kaufmann, van Onnes and Castiglioni collections. Shown in Bruges in 1902, No. 259. The sitter looks about 35. Done about 1518. See pp. 33 f. • Now in the Thyssen-Bornemisza collection (Schloss Rohoncz foundation), Castagnola, near Lugano, No. 83.

71. *Portrait of the Emperor Maximilian*.

a. (Plate 90) Staatliche Galerie, Vienna, No. 659 (27 × 18). About 1510. • Inv. No. 972 in the Gemäldegalerie im Kunsthistorischen Museum, 28.5 × 22.3 cm.

b. (Plate 90) Musée Jacquemart-André, Paris, No. 1014 (19 × 13, rounded at the top). Dated 1510. A faithful replica. • Inv. No. 2234; 20 × 13 cm.

72. (Plate 92) *Portrait of Francis I of France*. John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia (70 × 57). About 1530. • No. 769.72; 72 × 59 cm.

a. (Plate 93) Art market, Paris (Wildenstein, 1926, 35.5 × 30.5). The hands in a different position. • Now in the City Art Museum of Saint Louis, St. Louis, Mo, Acc. No. 15:28; 37 × 31 cm.

b. (Plate 93) Art market, Paris (J. Seligmann, 1924, 72 × 58). • Now in the Art Museum, Mary E. Emery Collection, Cincinnati, Ohio, No. 1927.384; 72 × 59 cm.

c. Hampton Court, No. 598 (35 × 30). Like a.

d. (Plate 93) Louvre, Paris. The hands as in a. • Now in the Musée National, Fontainebleau, on loan from the Musée du Louvre, Paris, 82 × 58 cm.

e. (Plate 93) H. Goldman collection, New York (17 × 13). Bust-length, without the hands. • Now in the Mr. Arthur A. Houghton, Jr. collection, New York, 16.5 × 14 cm.

f. Doetsch auction, London, 1904, No. 184 (69 × 61). Bust-length, without the hands. A copy. • Present location unknown.

73. (Plate 91) *Portrait of Henry VIII of England*. Hampton Court, No. 563 (70 × 55). Presumably 1536. See pp. 33 and 35.

74. (Plate 94) *Portrait of a Man*, with four escutcheons in the background. Gr. L. Winthrop collection, New York (46 × 34). From the Gotisches Haus,

Wörlitz. Probably done after an older model—the dress is archaic and unfamiliar. About 1512. Described on the old frame as *Her Nyclaes van Baccharach Ritter*. • Now in the Busch-Reisinger Museum, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass., Grenville L. Winthrop Bequest, Acc. No. 1965. 18; 44.5 × 32 cm.

75. (Plate 94) *Portrait of a Man*. H. Oppenheimer collection, London (19 × 12, rounded at the top). Dated 1509. • Following the Oppenheimer auction in London in 1936, this work was on the art market in London (Koetser). • Exhibited at the Koetser Gallery, New York, April 1941, No. 3. Present location unknown, 20 × 12.7 cm.

76. (Plate 95) *Portrait of a Man*, bust-length, one hand visible, with an armorial bearing. Dated 1527. Collection of Count Contini. Rome (60 × 45). From the collection of Professor Kopf, Rome. • Present location unknown.

77. (Plate 95) *Portrait of a Man*, supposedly Anton Humbelot. F. Gérard auction, Paris, 1905 (64 × 48). Dated 1536, the sitter's age given as 64. Perhaps original. Similar to the male portrait in the Prado, No. 89, below. • Present location unknown.

78. (Plate 95) *Portrait of a Man*. Collection of Lord Leconfield, Petworth, Catalogue No. 175 (47 × 35), opposite p. 48. Dated 1537. • Ld. Leconfield collection, National Trust, Petworth.

79. (Plate 96) *Portrait of a Young Man*, bust-length, showing both hands. Palazzo Pitti (44), Florence, among the portraits of painters [Massys] (rounded at the top). About 1512. • Galleria degli Uffizi, No. 1645; 31 × 20 cm.

80. (Plate 97) *Portrait of a Man*, bust-length, showing both hands. Collection of Prince Liechtenstein, Vienna, No. 717 (26 × 20.5). About 1513. • Now in the Sammlungen des Regierenden Fürsten von Liechtenstein, Vaduz.

81. (Plate 98) *Portrait of a Man*. Dresden Museum, No. 809 B (42.5 × 30.5). About 1513.

a. Christie's, VII, 1451, 1930, attributed to Hans Holbein the Elder. An old copy. • Present location unknown, 40 × 30 cm.

82. (Plate 99) *Portrait of a Young Man*. Art market, New York (Jonas, 1930, 35 × 22.5, rounded at the top). From private hands in Geneva. About 1518. • In 1933 on the Amsterdam art market (P. de Boer). Present location unknown.

83. (Plate 99) *Portrait of a Young Man*, in half-length, both hands showing. Art market, Berlin (Bottenwieser, 52 × 39, rounded at the top). From the Sulzbach collection, Paris, previously in the von Levetzow collection (1900).

About 1518. • Now in the Mrs. H. A. Wetzlar collection, Amsterdam.

a. (Plate 99) Art market, Paris, 1924 (44×34). A copy of the head. • Present location unknown.

68

84. (Plate 100) *Portrait of a Man*. Cassel, Gemäldegalerie, No. 26 (41×51). About 1518. • Inv. No. 758 in the Staatliche Kunstsammlungen, 43.5×33 cm.

a. (Plate 100) Kestner Museum, Hanover. An old copy. • Inv. No. KM21 in the Niedersächsisches Landesmuseum, 45.8×32.8 cm.

85. (Plate 101) *Portrait of a Boy*, in half-length, with a feathered hat and dagger. Spencer Churchill collection, Northwick Park (54×36). Reproduced, Arundel Club, No. 11, 1913. About 1525. • In 1965 on the London art market (Brod Gallery). Present location unknown.

86. *Portrait of a Man*, in half-length, both hands showing, with a ring.

a. (Plate 102) Art market, Paris (Sedelmeyer, 1922, 59×44). On canvas, possibly transferred. Perhaps a copy. • Now in the Mrs. J. van der Veken collection, Brussels.

b. Private ownership, Italy. A mediocre copy. • Present location unknown.

87. (Plate 102) *Portrait of a Man*. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, No. 21 (58.5×43.5). From the National Museum in The Hague, 1808. About 1525. • On loan from the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, to the Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen, Mauritshuis, The Hague, Cat. No. 895.

88. (Plate 102) *Portrait of a Man*. Collection of Lord Leconfield, Petworth, catalogue No. 322 (42×32). • Ld. Leconfield collection, National Trust, Petworth.

89. (Plate 103) *Portrait of an Elderly Man*, bust-length, both hands showing. Prado, Madrid, No. 2182 (62×47). About 1528.

a. (Plate 103) Auctioned for L.B., Vienna, in Amsterdam, 14th November 1905, No. 36 (66×51). An old copy. • In 1954 on the New York art market (J. Weitzner). Present location unknown.

90. (Plate 104) *Portrait of a Man*, bust-length, both hands showing. Gemäldegalerie, Berlin, No. 615 (62×47). About 1528. • Now in the Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen, Berlin-Dahlem.

91. (Plate 105) *Portrait of a Man*, in half-length, right hand on the hilt of a dagger. Collection of Sir H. Bacon, Gainsborough. • Now in the Sir Edmund Bacon collection, Raveningham, Norfolk, 62×44 cm.

a. (Plate 105) Art market, London (Buttery, 1929, 87.5×65). Sold to America. A rather close replica. • In 1931 on the The Hague art market (Th. Hermesen). Present location unknown.

b. (Plate 105) Art market, Minneapolis, 1930. From an inscription supposedly Josephus Antonius de Acosta (?), 1520 (40×28). A copy • Auctioned on 22th October 1970 at Parke-Bernet, New York. Present location unknown.

92. (Plate 106) *Portrait of an Elderly Man*. Art market, Berlin (P. Cassirer, 1929), previously in a Lepke auction. From Russia. About 1535. • Auctioned in 1945 at the Fischer Gallery, Lucerne. Present location unknown.

93. (Plate 106) *Portrait of a Man*, in half-length, against the interior of a room. Tietje collection, Amsterdam (83×66). From private hands in Genoa. Probably done in Genoa about 1530. See p. 35. • Now in a Private collection Wassenaar. (Netherlands)

94. (Plate 107) *Portrait of a Man*, bust-length, both hands showing. Lyons museum (58×44). Previously in the auction of Prince Borghese, Paris, 1891, No. 106, attributed to Bellini. About 1530. • Inv. No. B-480.

95. (Plate 108) *Portrait of a Boy*, bust-length, without the hands, a fragment. J. Rosenthal collection, Munich (21.5×17). From private ownerships in Heidelberg. About 1530. • Now in the Smith College Museum of Art, Northampton, Mass., Gift of Mr. and Mrs. Ernest Gottlieb, No. 1955:64; 21×16.5 cm.

96. (Plate 106) *Portrait of a Man*. Pisa museum, No. 51. About 1535. • Inv. No. 1776 (Gift Ceci); 58×41 cm.

97. (Plate 108) *Portrait of a Man*, bust-length, a palm frond in his right hand. Art market, Lucerne (Fischer, 1928). About 1535. • In 1952, Katz Gallery, Dieren. Present location unknown.

98. (Plate 109) *Portrait of a Man*, half-length, both hands showing. Musée des Beaux-Arts, Nantes, No. 569 (64.5×49). About 1535. • Inv. No. 580; 64.5×53 cm.

99. (Plate 108) *Portrait of a Man*, bust-length, both hands showing. W. Goldman collection, New York (52×43). About 1535. • Present location unknown.

100. (Plate 110) *Portrait of a Man*, bust-length, both hands showing. Jules S. Bache collection, New York (60×50). About 1540. Similar to the supposed self-portrait at Windsor, No. 120, below. • Auctioned on 13th March 1957 at Parke-Bernet, New York, No. 12. Present location unknown, 63.5×51.5 cm.

a. (Plate 110) Spencer Churchill collection, Northwick Park. Reproduced in Arundel Club, No. 12, 1913 (64×50). A faithful old copy, in a better state

of preservation than the original. • In 1967 on the New York art market (Tribune Gallery). Present location unknown.

101. (Plate 111) *Portrait of a Man*. Louvre, Paris, No. 2742 (63×53). About 1538. • Inv. No. 2105.

102. (Plate 111) *Portrait of a Man*, half-length. Art market, Berlin (Bottewieser, 1927, rounded at the top). About 1538. From the dress, the sitter may have been a Frenchman. • Present location unknown.

103. (Plate 111) *Portrait of a Very Young Man*, bust-length, one gloved hand showing over a baluster. Collection of Dr. Plietzsch, Berlin (40×30.5). About 1538. Formerly in private hands in Paris, at which time it was pieced out. • Present location unknown.

104. (Plate 111) *Portrait of a Bearded Man*, without hands, a fragment (?). Art market, Berlin (van Diemen, 1929, 37×30). About 1538. • Present location unknown.

105. (Plate 112) *Portrait of a Man*, bust-length, both hands showing. Collection of Lord Spencer, Althorp (48×46). Shown at the Burlington Club in 1092, No. 57, Plate 28 in the catalogue. About 1540. • Present location unknown.

106. (Plate 112) *Portrait of a Man*. Strasbourg museum, No. 65 (87×72). About 1540. Possibly a very late work. Not in a perfect state of preservation. An armorial bearing with seven birds. • Inv. No. 190; 89×72 cm.

107. (Plate 112) *Portrait of a Man*, half-length [46]. Art market, Munich (Fleischmann, 1931, 98×68.5). From the Holdford collection. About 1538. • Present location unknown.

108. *Portrait of Eleonore of France*.

a. (Plate 113) [47] Hampton Court, No. 561 (67.5×56). Probably an original. See p. 21.

b. (Plate 114) Staatliche Galerie, Vienna, No. 643a (35.5×29.5). From the collection of Freiherr von Minutoli. The same wording on the letter as in a. A faithful replica of equal merit. • Inv. No. 6079 in the Gemäldegalerie im Kunsthistorischen Museum.

c. (Plate 115) C. S. Gulbenkian collection, Paris (24×19). From the van Onnes collection, Amsterdam. A fine replica, with the hands in a different posture. • Now in the Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga, Lisbon, Inv. No. 1981; 25×19 cm.

d. (Plate 115) Traumann collection, Madrid, present whereabouts unknown. A faithful replica, rather weaker than a and b. • Now in the Museo Lázaro-Galdiano, Madrid, No. 1008.

- e. Bernal auction, London, 1855, No. 926. • Present location unknown.
- f. (Plate 115) Château de St. Roch, de Montbrison family (26×20). Like c. • Now in the Art Museum, Cincinnati, Ohio, Mrs. Mary Emery Collection, No. 1927.405; 27.6×20.6 cm.
- g. (Plate 115) Musée Condé, Chantilly. A copy, like a.
- h. (Plate 115) Art market, Washington (Fischer, 1905), bust-length, the hands not showing. A fragment. • Present location unknown.

71

109. *Portrait of Mencia Mendonça*, wife of Henry of Nassau, bust-length, the hands not showing.

- a. (Plate 116) Art market, Paris (Kleinberger, 1913, 49×40). Dress and conception entirely as in the portrait of Queen Eleonore. Perhaps an original. • Present location unknown.
- b. (Plate 116) Musée Condé, Chantilly. The sitter is identified from a miniature in the Gemäldegalerie, Berlin.

110. (Plate 116) *Portrait of a Noble Lady*, bust-length, both hands showing. Auction, Paris, 16th February, 1923 (67×51). Supposedly Isabeau d'Au-triche. Perhaps an original. • Present location unknown.

- a. Berlin, formerly in the possession of the imperial family. An old replica, with changes, an added cup and jeweller's scale. The portrait character weakened, the style changed. • Present location unknown.

111. (Plate 116) *Portrait of a Woman*, half-length, both hands showing. Mayer van den Bergh Museum, Antwerp. About 1513. • No. 364; 58×44 cm.

112. (Plate 117) *Portrait of a Woman*, Art market, Paris (Kleinberger, 1931, 58×47). From private hands in Sweden. About 1530. • Later in the John Bass collection, auctioned, New York, 25th January 1945, No. 14. Present location unknown.

113. (Plate 117) *Portrait of a Woman*. Pinakothek, Munich, No. 1454 (54×39). From the Wallerstein collection. In the Germanisches Museum, Nuremberg, until 1911. About 1525. • Inv. No. WAF 153.

114. (Plate 117) *Portrait of a Woman*. Collection of the Earl of Normanton, London (63×46). Shown in London, 1927, No. 193. About 1535. • Now in the Marquess of Bute collection, Rothesay, Isle of Bute, Scotland.

114a. (Plate 118) *Portrait of a Woman*, nude to the waist [48]. Art market, Munich (Böhler, 95×72). About 1530. See, p. 35. • In 1941 on the art market, Lucerne. Present location unknown.

115. (Plate 119) *Portraits of a Couple*, Anthonius van Hilten of Sluis and his wife Agnete van der Rhijne [49]. Hoefer collection, Hattem, Holland (39.5×28.5 each, rounded at the top). About 1513. Reproduced in

Martin and Moes, *Altholländische Malerei*, Vol. 1, Pl. 26. o Now in the Twenthe Museum, Enschede. • Inv. Nos. 27 and 28; 40 × 29 cm each.

72

116. (Plates 120, 121) *Portraits of a Couple*. Toledo museum (U.S.A.), Libbey 1501 collection. Previously in the Earl of Ellenborough auction, London, 1914, Nos. 106, 107 (41 × 33 each). About 1530. • Acc. Nos. 26.59 and 26.62 of the Toledo Museum of Art, Gift of Edward Drummond Libbey, 1926.

a. (Plate 124) John G. Johnson Collection, Philadelphia, Catalogue 11, No. 431 (62 × 50). The man only. With an armorial bearing. A copy. • 67 × 53 cm.

b. (Plate 124) Paris auction, 31th May 1923, No. 21 (68 × 53). The woman only. With an armorial bearing and the spurious inscription *Anne de Boleyn*. A copy. • Present location unknown.

117. (Plates 122, 123) *Portraits of a Couple*. Collection of Prince Liechtenstein, Vienna (56 × 41 each). The man in half-length, putting on a glove. About 1520. • Now in the National Gallery of Art, Washington, D.C., Andrew W. Mellon Fund, Nos. 1662 and 1663; 58 × 40 cm each.

a. (Plate 124) Art market, Amsterdam (Goudstikker, 1922, 58 × 39, rounded at the top). A copy of the man's portrait. • Now in the Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam, No. 696-B2; 58 × 38.5 cm.

118. (Plate 125) *Portraits of a Couple*. Uffizi, Florence, Nos. 236, 237 (57 × 41 each). The portrait of the woman dated 1520. • Inv. Nos. 1643 and 1644; 57 × 42 cm each.

119. (Plates 126, 127) *Portraits of a Couple*. Cassel, Gemäldegalerie, Nos. 20, 21 (63 × 48 each). The man's dated 1526, the woman's 1525. • Inv. Nos. 756 and 757; 64 × 49 cm each.

120. (Plate 128) *Portraits of a Couple*. Windsor Castle (63 × 48 each). According to the engraving in the series of portraits of painters, a self-portrait. About 1540. See. p. 40. • Now in the Royal Collections, Hampton Court, Inv. Nos. 1424 and 1425.

CATALOGUE OF THE PAINTINGS BY CORNELIS VAN CLEVE, IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER. THE PANELS LISTED FIRST ARE IN THE STYLE OF JOOS VAN CLEVE AND MAY STILL HAVE BEEN DONE IN THE MASTER'S STUDIO (From Volume xiv).

c. 1. (Plate 129) *Adoration of the Christ Child*. Dresden museum, No. 810. With motives after Raphael. • 87 × 85.5 cm.

c. 2. (Plate 129) *An Allegory, Venus (?) between Two Couples*. Cardon auction,

Brussels, present whereabouts unknown. This composition was engraved by Cornelis Massys. • 35×47 cm.

c. 3. *The Last Judgment*. Art market, New York, 1910 (Ehrich). • Present location unknown.

c. 4. (Plate 71) *Virgin and Child*, in half-length, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Marlay Bequest, No. 17. A composition repeated more than once. • 27.6×21.6 cm [51].

c. 5. (Plate 131) *Virgin and Child with St. John and Three Angels*. Art market, Lucerne. After Andrea del Sarto. See p. 50. • Present location unknown. 118×85 cm.

c. 6. *Charity*. Hauth collection, Düsseldorf. In part after Andrea del Sarto. • Present location unknown.

c. 7. The same composition as No. c. 5. Art market, Basle. See p. 50. • Present location unknown, 60×50 cm.

c. 8. (Plate 130) *The Adoration of the Magi*. Antwerp museum. See pp. 49 f. • No. 464; 100×77 cm.

c. 9. (Plate 131) *Virgin and Child with St. John*, in half-length. Bruges museum No. 231. • Inv. No. 375 in the Stedelijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten (Groeninge Museum), 95×74 cm.

c. 10. (Plate 131) *Virgin and Child*, in half-length. Philadelphia, John G. Johnson Collection, No. 403 • 37×25.5 cm.

c. 11. (Plate 131) *Virgin and Child*, in half-length. Berlin museum, No. 653. • Now in the Staatliche Museen zu Berlin (Bode-Museum), Berlin (East), 80×65 cm.

c. 12. (Plate 131) *Virgin and Child*. Church of St. James, Antwerp. • 59×44 cm.

c. 13. (Plate 132) *The Adoration of the Magi*, in very large format. Hermitage, Leningrad. • Inv. No. 393; 235×191 cm.

c. 14. (Plate 132) *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife*. Cardon auction, Brussels, subsequently in private hands in Munich. • Present location unknown, 55×55 cm.

c. 15. (Plate 133) *The Lamentation*. Private ownership, Strasbourg 1521. After Joos van Cleve (Louvre) (19, Plate 41). • Auctioned at the Fischer Gallery,



Lucerne, 21st-27th November 1961. Present location unknown.

c. 16. (Plate 133) *Virgin and Child*, in half-length. Art market, New York.  
• Now in the Thurkow collection, The Hague, 77 × 65 cm.

74 c. 17. *Virgin and Child*, in half-length. Art market, Paris, 1936 (Wertheimer).  
• Present location unknown.

c. 18. (Plate 133) *Leda and the Swan*. Art market, Berlin, 1937. • Present location unknown, 85 × 69 cm.

c. 19. *Virgin and Child*, in half-length. Boström collection, Stockholm.  
• Present location unknown.

c. 20. *Virgin and Child*, in half-length. Sigmaringen museum, present whereabouts unknown. The same composition as No. c. 4. • In 1928 on the New York art market (A. S. Drey). Present location unknown.

c. 21. *Virgin and Child*, in half-length. Art market, Berlin (Thanhauser). The same composition as in Nos. c. 4 and c. 20, but done at a later date. • Present location unknown.

c. 22. (Plate 134) *Virgin and Child*, in knee-length. Pinakothek, Munich, No. 1042. After Leonardo da Vinci. • Inv. No. WAF 489; 102 × 73 cm.

c. 23. *Virgin and Child*, in knee-length. Art market, New York (Aram). After Leonardo da Vinci. • Present location unknown.

c. 24. (Plate 134) *Adoration of the Christ Child*. Ringling collection, Sarasota, Florida. The same composition as No. c. 1, but done at a later date. • Now in the Collection of the John and Mable Ringling Museum of Art, Sarasota, Florida, No. 201; 108.5 × 82.5 cm (531).

c. 25. (Plate 135) *Adoration of the Shepherds*. Buckingham Palace, London. See pp. 49 f. • Now in the Royal Collections, Hampton Court, Inv. No. 1204; 115 × 87 cm.

c. 26. (Plate 135) *The Virgin Mourning over the Body of Christ*. Hulin de Loo collection, Ghent. • Present location unknown.

c. 27. (Plate 134) *Portrait of a Woman*. Wallraf-Richartz Museum, Cologne.  
• Inv. No. 652; 49.5 × 39 cm.

c. 28. (Plate 135) *The Holy Family with Sts. Elisabeth and John*. Bonn museum (auction of 1935). Probably a copy. • Present location unknown, 66 × 52 cm.

# Plates

## PHOTOGRAPHS

Unless listed below, photos were supplied by the museums, institutions or collectors owning the works. Numbers within brackets refer to the catalogues.

A.C.L., Brussels: Plates 47(23), 58(42a), 59(44a), 61(47), 63(49), 66(52a), 70(55c), 72(57), 74(59a), 75(60a), 76(A), 86, 101, 105(91), 108(99), 110(100), 116(111), 129(c.2), 130(c.8), 131(c.12), 135(c.26)

Alinari, Florence: Plates 18, 19

Cav. Bandieri, Modena: Plate 60(45)

P. Bijtebier, Brussels: Plate 102(86a)

Böhler, Munich: Plate 118(114a)

L. Borel, Marseilles: Plate 85(66p)

Brunel, Lugano: Plates 81(64a), 89

Bulloz, Paris: Plate 90(71b)

G. Busch-Hauck, Frankfurt/M.: Plates 11(4b), 75(60)

J. Camponogara, Lyons: Plate 107

A. C. Cooper, Ltd., London: Plates 91, 110(100a), 113, 128(120), 135(c.25)

Courtauld Institute of Art, London: Plates 27, 95(78), 102(88)

A. Dingjan, The Hague: Plates 55(37b), 106(93)

W. Dräyer, Zurich: Plate 88

U. Edelmann, Frankfurt/M.: Plate 31(15)

Edeltraut Mandl, Vienna: Plate 55(37g)

Bill Finney, Concord, N.H.: Plate 80

VI. Fyman, Prague: Plates 13, 14, 15

Giraudon, Paris: Plates 116(109b), 118(B)

Th. R. Kandas, Indianapolis: Plate 67(53d)

Stan Kenis, Ghent: Plate 67(53f)

Landesdenkmalamt Westfalen-Lippe, Munster: Plate 61(46b)

John van Lennep, Amsterdam: Plate 133(c.16)

Madec, Nantes: Plate 109

Mas, Barcelona: Plates 7, 8, 9, 10, 65(51c)

Allen Mewbourn, Houston, Tex.: Plate 84(66a)

Ann Münchow, Aachen: Plate 53(33a)

Musées Nationaux, Paris: Plates 41(19), 46(21), 53(34), 62, 64, 111(101)

Pfaunder, Dresden: Plates 49(27), 50, 52(32), 98, 129(c.1)

Rheinisches Bildarchiv, Cologne: Plates 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 22, 23, 41(A), 134(c.27)

Schweizerisches Institut für Kunstwissenschaft, Zurich: Plate 65(51b)

W. Steinkopf, Berlin-Dahlem: Plates 16, 17, 104

Szenczi, Budapest: Plate 67(53c)

H. P. Vosc, Wellesley Hills, Mass.: Plate 108(95)

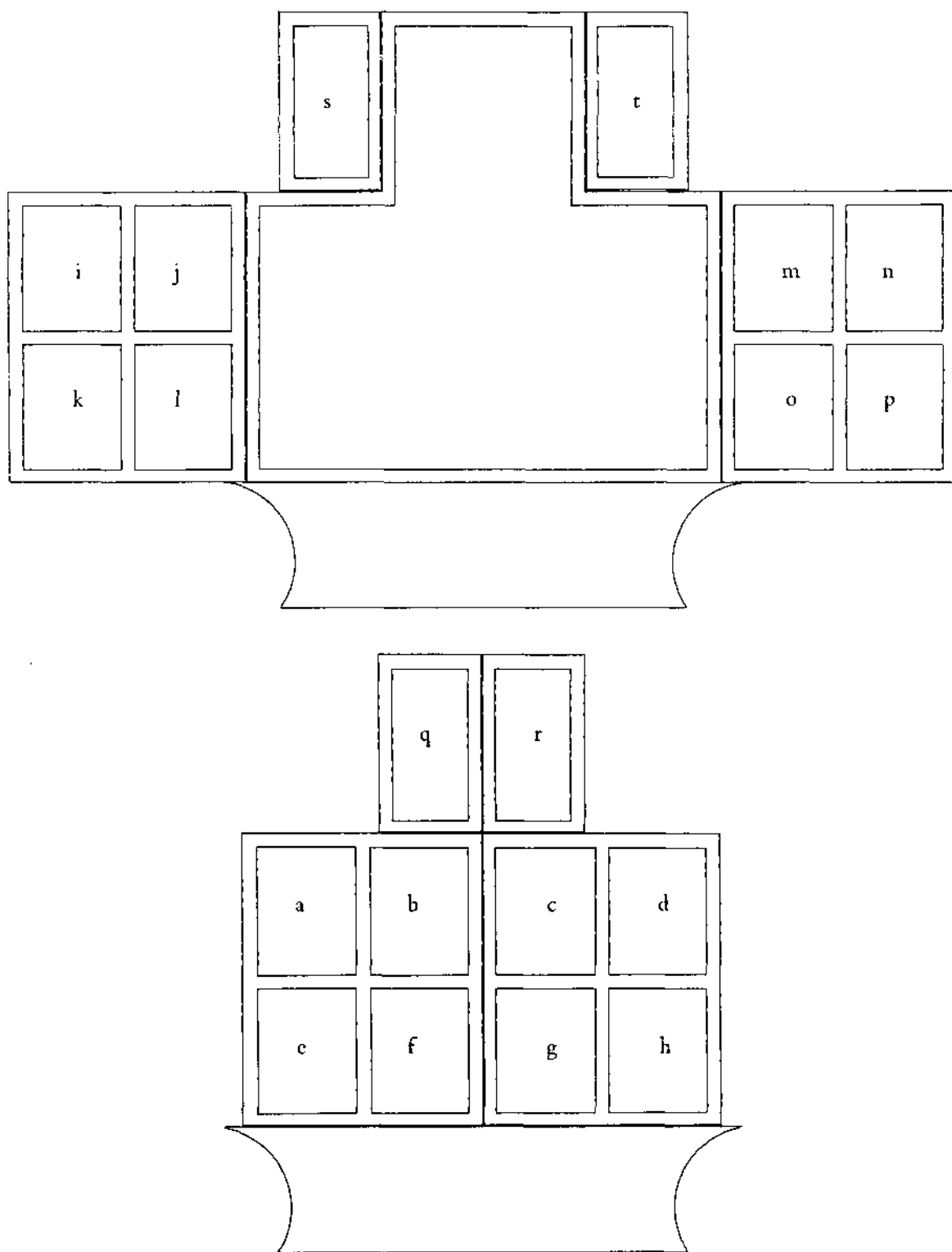
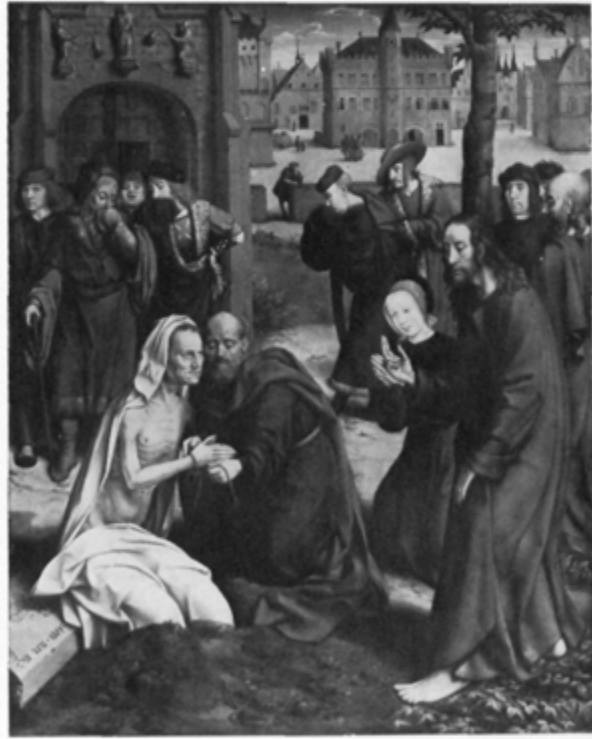


Plate  
I

1. Jan Joest. Altarpiece of the Life and the Passion of Christ (Diagram). *Calcar, Church of St. Nicholas*



1. Jan Joest. Altarpiece of the Life and the Passion of Christ. The Circumcision (a), The Adoration of the Magi (b), The Baptism of Christ (c), The Transfiguration of Christ (f). *Calcar, Church of St. Nicholas*



1. Jan Joest. Altarpiece of the Life and the Passion of Christ. The Presentation in the Temple (c), Christ among the Doctors (d), Christ and the Woman of Samaria at the Well (g), The Raising of Lazarus (h). *Calcar, Church of St. Nicholas*



1. Jan Joest. Altarpiece of the Life and the Passion of Christ. The Capture of Christ (i), Christ Crowned with Thorns(j), Christ Shown to the People (k), Christ before Pilate (l). *Calcar, Church of St. Nicholas*





1. Jan Joest. Altarpiece of the Life and the Passion of Christ. The Resurrection (m), The Ascension (n), The Festival of Whit Sunday (o), The Death of the Virgin (p). *Calcar, Church of St. Nicholas*





1. Jan Joest. Altarpiece of the Life and the Passion of Christ. Abraham's Sacrifice (s), Moses and the Serpent of Brass (t), The Annunciation (q), The Nativity (r). *Calcar*, Church of St. Nicholas

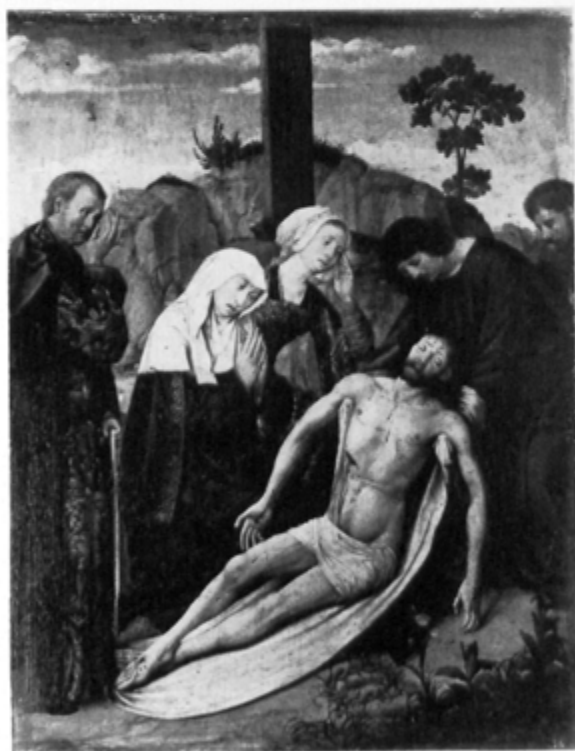




2. Jan Joest. Altarpiece of the Sorrows of Mary. The Presentation in the Temple, The Flight into Egypt, Christ among the Doctors. *Palencia, Cathedral*



Plate  
9



2. Jan Joest. Altarpiece of the Sorrows of Mary. Christ Carrying the Cross, Christ on the Cross, The Lamentation, The Entombment. *Palencia, Cathedral*





2. Jan Joest. Altarpiece of the Sorrows of Mary. Pietà with St. John and a Donor. *Palencia, Cathedral*



3 | 4 a  
4 b | 4 c

3. Jan Joest. *The Nativity*. *Location unknown*. 4 a. Jan Joest, copy. *The Nativity*. *Location unknown*. 4 b. Barthel Bruyn after Jan Joest. *The Nativity*. *Frankfurt-on-Main, Staedelsches Kunstinstitut*. 4 c. Jan Joest, copy. *The Nativity*. *Dunedin, New Zealand, The Dunedin Public Art Gallery*









7. J. van Cleve. Altarpiece of the Adoration of the Magi, Centrepiece. *Prague, National Gallery*



7. J. van Cleve. Altarpiece of the Adoration of the Magi, Shutters, Saints and Donors. *Prague, National Gallery*



8. J. van Cleve. Altarpiece of the Adoration of the Magi. Berlin-Dahlem, *Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen*



8. J. van Cleve. Altarpiece of the Adoration of the Magi, Centrepiece. Berlin-Dahlem, *Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen*





9. J. van Cleve. Altarpiece of the Adoration of the Magi. Genoa, Church of San Donato



9. J. van Cleve. Altarpiece of the Adoration of the Magi, Centrepiece. Genoa, Church of San Donato



10. J. van Cleve. Altarpiece of the Adoration of the Magi. Detroit, Mich., *The Institute of Arts*



10. J. van Cleve. Altarpiece of the Adoration of the Magi, Centrepiece. *Detroit, Mich., The Institute of Arts*





10 a. J. van Cleve. Altarpiece of the Adoration of the Magi. Naples, Museo di Capodimonte



11. J. van Cleve. *Altarpiece of the Crucifixion*. Naples, *Museo di Capodimonte*



11. J. van Cleve. Altarpiece of the Crucifixion, Centrepiece. Naples, Museo di Capodimonte



11. J. van Cleve. Altarpiece of the Crucifixion, Shutters, Saints and Donors.  
*Naples, Museo di Capodimonte*





II a | II b

II a. J. van Cleve, copy. Christ on the Cross. Philadelphia, Pa., John G. Johnson Collection. II b. J. van Cleve, copy. Christ on the Cross. Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek



12  
13

12. J. van Cleve. Altarpiece of the Christ on the Cross. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, G. Blumenthal Collection. 13. J. van Cleve. Altarpiece of the Crucifixion. Location unknown



14. J. van Cleve. Altarpiece of the Deposition, *Edinburgh, National Gallery*



14. J. van Cleve. Altarpiece of the Deposition, Centrepiece. *Edinburgh, National Gallery*





14. J. van Cleve. Altarpiece of the Deposition, Shutters, Saints and Donors. *Edinburgh, National Gallery*



15 a	15
	15

15. J. van Cleve. Altarpiece of the Lamentation. Frankfurt-on-Main, Städelches Kunstinstitut.  
15 a. J. van Cleve, workshop copy (?). St. Veronica. Location unknown



16. J. van Cleve. Altarpiece of the Death of the Virgin. *Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum*



16. J. van Cleve. Altarpiece of the Death of the Virgin, Centrepiece and Shutters with Saints and Donors. Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz Museum





17. J. van Cleve. Altarpiece of the Death of the Virgin. Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek



17. J. van Cleve. Altarpiece of the Death of the Virgin, Centrepiece. Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek



17. J. van Cleve. Altarpiece of the Death of the Virgin, Shutters, Saints and Donors. *Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek*



17. J. van Cleve. Altarpiece of the Death of the Virgin, Reverse, Virgin and Child with Sts. Anne and Christopher; Sts. Sebastian and Roch. *Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek*





18. J. van Cleve. Altarpiece of the Virgin Enthroned. Vienna, *Kunsthistorisches Museum*



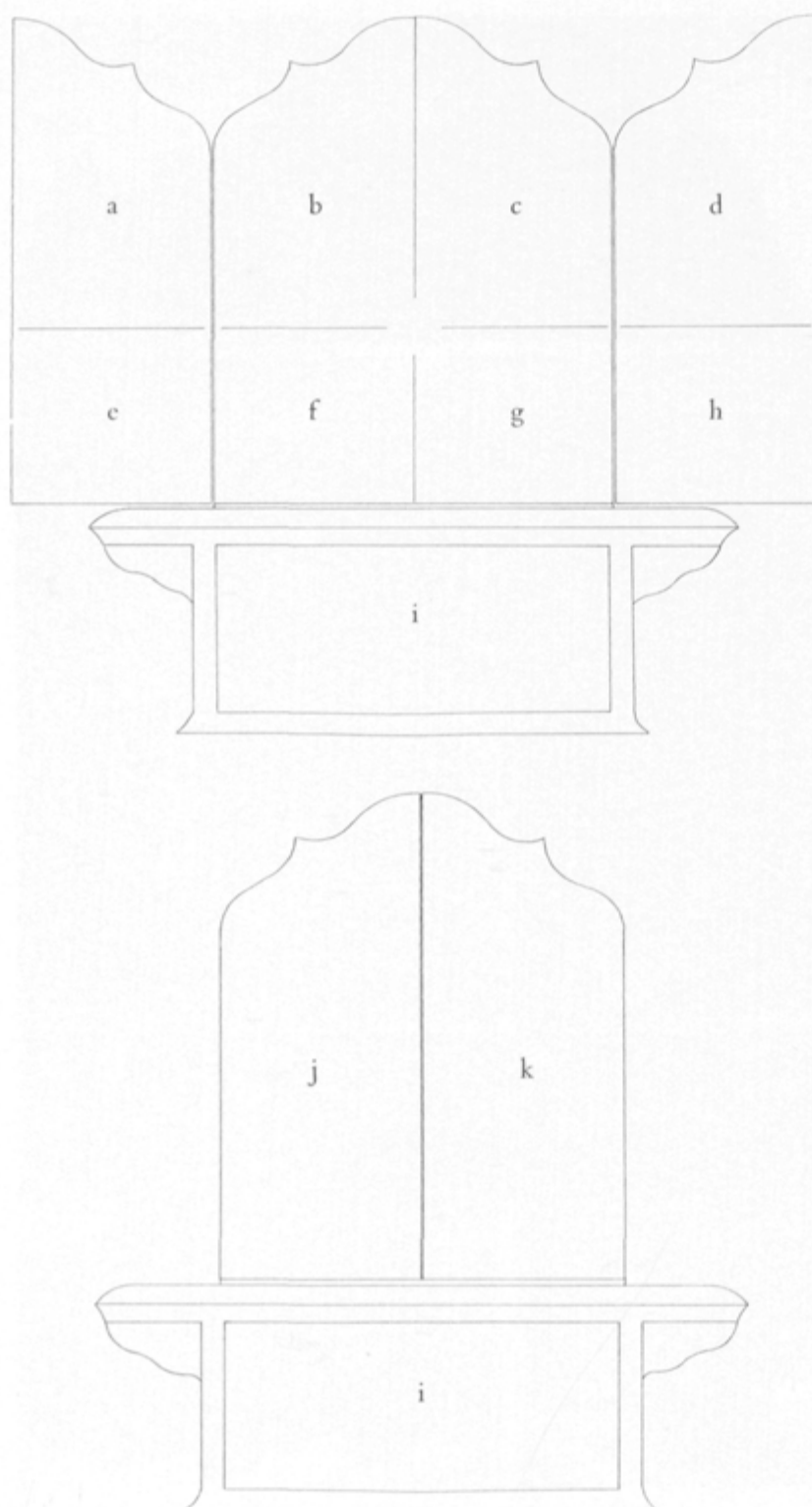
18. J. van Cleve. Altarpiece of the Virgin Enthroned, Centrepiece. *Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum*



18. J. van Cleve. Altarpiece of the Virgin Enthroned, Shutters, Saints and Donors. *Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum*









20. J. van Cleve. The Reinhold Altarpiece. Sts. John the Baptist (j) and Reinhold (k); The Man of Sorrows with Saints (i). *Warsaw, National Museum*



20. J. van Cleve. The Reinhold Altarpiece. The Presentation in the Temple (a), The Baptism of Christ (b), Christ Shown to the People (c), Christ before Pilate (f). *Warsaw, National Museum*



20. J. van Cleve. The Reinhold Altarpiece. The Last Supper (c), The Mount of Olives (d), Christ Carrying the Cross (g), The Crucifixion (h). *Warsaw, National Museum*



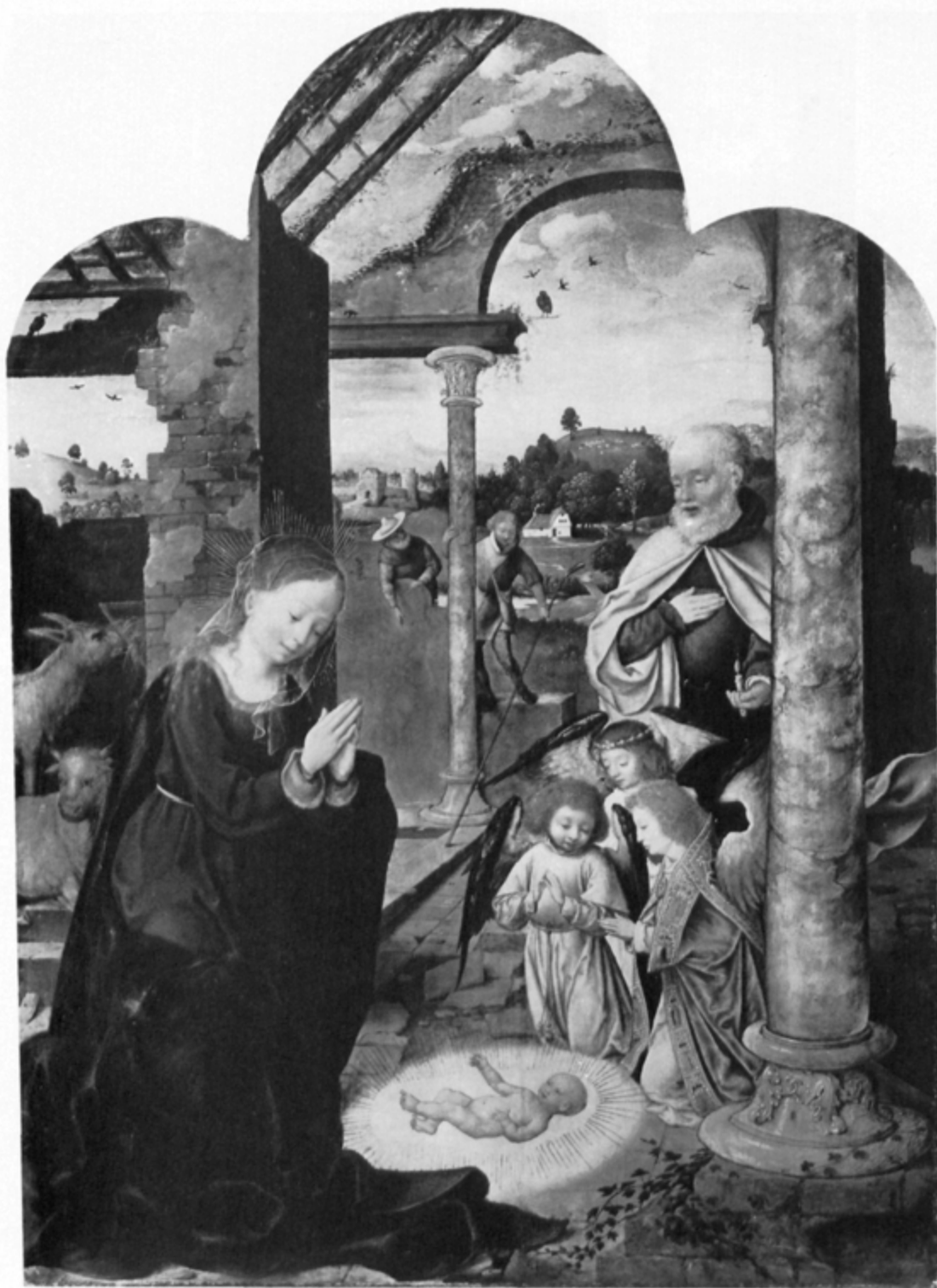


21 | 24

22

21. J. van Cleve. Adam and Eve. *Paris, Musée du Louvre.* 24. J. van Cleve. St. John the Baptist. *Amsterdam, Mrs. H. A. Wetzlar collection.* 22. J. van Cleve. St. Catherine and the Magdalene. *Belgium, Private collection*





26. J. van Cleve. The Nativity. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum



27	27 a
	27 b

27. J. van Cleve. The Adoration of the Magi. *Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen*. 27 a. J. van Cleve, copy. The Adoration of the Magi. *Location unknown*. 27 b. J. van Cleve, copy. The Adoration of the Magi. *Location unknown*





28. J. van Cleve. The Adoration of the Magi. *Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen*





31  
32

31. J. van Cleve. *The Deposition*. Philadelphia, Pa., John G. Johnson Collection. 32. J. van Cleve. *The Deposition*. Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen



33		33 a
34		A   B

33. J. van Cleve. Christ the Gardener, with the Magdalene. *Location unknown*. 33 a. J. van Cleve. Christ the Gardener, with the Magdalene. *Aachen, Suermondt-Museum*. 34. J. van Cleve. Christ Giving the Blessing. *Paris, Musée du Louvre*. A. J. van Cleve, copy. Christ Giving the Blessing. *Location unknown*. B. J. van Cleve, copy. Christ Giving the Blessing. *Dulwich, Alleyns College*





35 |  $\frac{36 \text{ a}}{36 \text{ b}}$

35. J. van Cleve. *The Boy Jesus Standing on a Globe*. Dortmund, Dr. H. Becker collection. 36 a. J. van Cleve, copy (?). *The Boy Jesus, Seated, Eating Grapes*. Location unknown. 36 b. J. van Cleve, copy (?). *The Boy Jesus, Seated, Eating Grapes*. Wiesbaden, Gemäldegalerie



37 a | 37 c

37 b | 37 g

37 a. J. van Cleve (?). *The Boys Jesus and John, Kissing*. Naples, *Museo di Capodimonte*. 37 c. J. van Cleve, copy. *The Boys Jesus and John, Kissing*. France, *Bierbeek collection*. 37 b. J. van Cleve, copy. *The Boys Jesus and John, Kissing*. The Hague, *Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen, Mauritshuis*. 37 g. J. van Cleve, copy. *The Boys Jesus and John, Kissing*. Vienna, *Gemäldegalerie der Akademie der Bildenden Künste*



38  
38 c | 38 d

38 J. van Cleve (?). Mater Dolorosa. Salzburg, Residenzgalerie. 38 c. J. van Cleve. Mater Dolorosa. New York, C.V. Hickox collection. 38 d. J. van Cleve (?). Mater Dolorosa. Oslo, National Gallery



39 a | 39 b | 39 c  
40 a | 40 b | 40 c

39 a. J. van Cleve (?). St. Jerome. *Location unknown*. 39 b. J. van Cleve (?). St. Jerome. Nordstemmen, Prinzen von Hannover, Herzog zu Braunschweig und Lüneburg collection. 39 c. J. van Cleve, copy. St. Jerome. Philadelphia, Pa., John G. Johnson Collection. 40 a. J. van Cleve (?). St. Jerome. *Location unknown*. 40 b. J. van Cleve, copy. St. Jerome. Salzburg, Museum Carolino Augusteum. 40 c. J. van Cleve, copy, St. Jerome. *Location unknown*





41	42
43	42 b

41. J. van Cleve. St. Jerome. Muskegon, Mich., The Hackley Art Gallery. 42. J. van Cleve (?). St. Jerome. Location unknown. 42 b. J. van Cleve, copy, St. Jerome. Oldenburg, Landesmuseum für Kunst- und Kulturgeschichte 43. J. van Cleve. St. John on Patmos. Ann Arbor, Mich., Museum of Art, Alumni Memorial Hall



Plate  
59

44 | 44 a

44. J. van Cleve. The Magdalene. *Location unknown*. 44 a. J. van Cleve. The Magdalene. *Location unknown*



45 |  $\frac{45 \text{ a}}{45 \text{ b}}$

45. J. van Cleve. Virgin and Child with St. Anne. Modena, Galleria Estense. 45 a. J. van Cleve, copy. Virgin and Child with St. Anne. Location unknown. 45b. J. van Cleve, copy. Virgin and Child with St. Anne. Location unknown





Plate  
61



46 | 47  
46 a | 46 b

46. J. van Cleve. Virgin and Child with St. Anne and Joseph. *Location unknown*. 46 a. J. van Cleve, copy. Virgin and Child with St. Anne and Joseph. *Poznan, National Museum*. 46 b. J. van Cleve, copy (by Imitator A). Virgin and Child with St. Anne and Joseph. *Herdringen, Count Fürstenberg-Herdringen collection*. 47. J. van Cleve. Virgin and Child with St. Anne and Joseph. *Brussels, Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*



48. J. van Cleve. The Virgin and Child with St. Bernard. *Paris, Musée du Louvre*



49  
49 a

49. J. van Cleve. *The Virgin on the Flight into Egypt*. Brussels, *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*. 49 a. J. van Cleve, replica. *The Virgin on the Flight into Egypt*. Munich, *Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek*



50. J. van Cleve. Virgin and Child with St. Dominic. *Paris, Musée du Louvre*





51 | 51 a  
51 b | 51 c

51. J. van Cleve. *Virgin and Child*. Sweden, private collection. 51 a. J. van Cleve, copy (by Imitator A?). *Virgin and Child*. Frankfurt-on-Main, Städtisches Kunstinstitut. 51 b. J. van Cleve, copy. *Virgin and Child*. Location unknown. 51 c. J. van Cleve, copy. *Virgin and Child*. Madrid, Museo Lázaro-Galdiano



52 | 52 a

52. J. van Cleve. *Virgin and Child*. *Location unknown*. 52 a. J. van Cleve, copy. *Virgin and Child*. Brussels, *Musées Royaux des Beaux-Arts de Belgique*



53 e | 53 a

53 c | 53 d | 53 f

53 e. J. van Cleve. *Virgin and Child*. Eindhoven, *Estate of the Late Mrs. A.H.E.M. Philips-de Jongh*. 53 a. J. van Cleve (?). *Virgin and Child*. Prague, *National Gallery*. 53 c. J. van Cleve, copy. *Virgin and Child* Budapest, *Museum of Fine Arts*. 53 d. J. van Cleve, copy. *Virgin and Child*. Indianapolis, *Museum of Art*. 53 f. J. van Cleve, copy. *Virgin and Child*. Melle (Belgium), *Mr. and Mrs. Bier collection*





54 | 54 a

54. J. van Cleve. *Virgin and Child*. *Location unknown*. 54 a. J. van Cleve (?). *Virgin and Child*. *Budapest, Museum of Fine Arts*



55. J. van Cleve. *Virgin and Child*. *Location unknown*



55 a | 55 b | 55 c  
55 e | 55 f | 55 i

55 a. J. van Cleve, copy. Virgin and Child. *Location unknown.* 55 b. J. van Cleve, copy. Virgin and Child. *Buenos Aires, Private collection.* 55 c. J. van Cleve, copy. Virgin and Child. *Location unknown.* 55 e. J. van Cleve, copy. Virgin and Child. *Location unknown.* 55 f. J. van Cleve, copy (by Imitator A). Virgin and Child. *Location unknown.* 55 i. J. van Cleve, copy. Virgin and Child. *Location unknown.*



56 a | 56 b  
56 c | 56 d

56 a. J. van Cleve, copy (C. van Cleve, No. c. 4). *Virgin and Child*. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum. 56 b. J. van Cleve, copy. *Virgin and Child*. Location unknown. 56 c. J. van Cleve, copy. *Virgin and Child*. Cracow, National Museum. 56 d. J. van Cleve, copy. *Virgin and Child*. Location unknown





57 |  $\frac{57 \text{ a}}{58 \text{ a}}$

57. J. van Cleve. *Virgin and Child*. *Location unknown*. 57 a. J. van Cleve, copy. *Virgin and Child*. *Location unknown*.  
58 a. J. van Cleve. *Virgin and Child*. Cincinnati, Ohio, Art Museum



58. J. van Cleve. *Virgin and Child*. Kansas City, Mo., Nelson Gallery-Atkins Museum, Nelson Fund



59 |  $\frac{59 \text{ a}}{59 \text{ b}}$

59. J. van Cleve. *Virgin and Child*. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum. 59 a. J. van Cleve (?). *Virgin and Child*. Louvain, Museum Vander Kelen-Mertens. 59 b. J. van Cleve (?). *Virgin and Child*. Kreuzlingen, Heinz Kisters collection





60 | 60 a

60. J. van Cleve. Virgin and Child. *Frankfurt-on-Main, Städtisches Kunstinstitut.* 60 a. J. van Cleve, copy. Virgin and Child. *Antwerp, Mayer van den Bergh Museum*



61 | 61 a  
A | B

61. J. van Cleve. *Virgin and Child*. *Location unknown*. 61 a. J. van Cleve (?). *Virgin and Child*. *Location unknown*.  
A. Imitator A of J. van Cleve. *Infant Jesus*. *Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten* (see p. 43). B. Imitator A  
of J. van Cleve. *Virgin and Child*. *Location unknown* (see p. 43)



62. J. van Cleve. Virgin and Child. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum



63 a | 63 b

A | B

63 a. J. van Cleve(?). *The Madonna of the Cherries*. Aachen, *Suermondt-Museum*. 63 b. J. van Cleve(?). *The Madonna of the Cherries*. St. Louis, Mo., Mr. and Mrs. M.B. Wallace Jr. collection. A. Imitator of J. van Cleve. *Virgin and Child*. Location unknown. (see p. 43). B. Imitator of J. van Cleve, after G. David. *Virgin and Child*, Rotterdam, *Museum Boymans-van Beuningen* (see p. 44)





63 c | 63 e

63 i | 63 k

63 c. J. van Cleve, copy. The Madonna of the Cherries. Oldenburg, Landesmuseum. 63 e. J. van Cleve, copy. The Madonna of the Cherries. Location unknown. 63 i. J. van Cleve, copy. The Madonna of the Cherries. Location unknown. 63 k. J. van Cleve, copy. The Madonna of the Cherries. Location unknown



64. J. van Cleve. The Holy Family. Manchester, N. H., The Currier Gallery of Art





64 a | 64 b

64 d | 64 c

64 a. J. van Cleve. The Holy Family. *Castagnola, Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Schloss Rohoncz Foundation.*  
 64 b. J. van Cleve, copy (by Imitator A). The Holy Family. *Location unknown.* 64 d. J. van Cleve, copy. The  
 Holy Family. *Location unknown.* 64 c. J. van Cleve, copy (by Imitator A). The Holy Family. *Location unknown*



65 |  $\frac{65 \text{ b}}{65 \text{ d}}$

65. J. van Cleve. *The Holy Family*. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, M. Friedsam Collection. 65 b. J. van Cleve, copy (by Imitator A). *The Holy Family*. Location unknown. 65 d. J. van Cleve, replica. *The Holy Family*. Helsinki, The Art Museum of the Atheneum



66. J. van Cleve. *The Holy Family*. London, *National Gallery*



66 a | 66 b

66 c | 66 d

66 a. J. van Cleve. *The Holy Family*. Houston, Texas, *The Museum of Fine Arts*. 66 b. J. van Cleve(?). *The Holy Family*. Vienna, *Gemäldegalerie der Akademie der Bildenden Künste*. 66 c. J. van Cleve, copy. *The Holy Family*. Leningrad, *The Hermitage*. 66 d. J. van Cleve, copy. *The Holy Family*. Location unknown





66 g | 66 h  
66 l | 66 m

66 g. J. van Cleve, copy. The Holy Family. Location unknown. 66 h. J. van Cleve, copy. The Holy Family. Greenville, S. C., The Bob Jones University, Collection of Religious Paintings. 66 l. J. van Cleve, copy. The Holy Family. Chicago, Art Institute. 66 m. J. van Cleve (?). The Holy Family. New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art, Blumenthal Bequest



67. J. van Cleve. *Virgin and Child with Angels*. Lulworth, Warcham (Dorset), Colonel J. Weld collection





Plate  
87



68	68 a
	68 b

68. J. van Cleve. Lucretia. *Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum*. 68 a. J. van Cleve, replica. Lucretia. *Florence, Palazzo del Bargello*. 68 b. J. van Cleve, replica. Lucretia. *San Francisco, Calif., M.H. Young Memorial Museum*



69. J. van Cleve. Lucretia. Zurich, Kunsthhaus, Ruzicka-Stiftung



70. J. van Cleve. Self-Portrait. *Castagnola, Thyssen-Bornemisza Collection, Schloss Rohoncz Foundation*



71 a | 71 b

71 a. J. van Cleve (?). Portrait of the Emperor Maximilian. *Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum.* 71 b. J. van Cleve (?). Portrait of the Emperor Maximilian. *Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André*





73. J. van Cleve. Portrait of Henry VIII of England. *Hampton Court, Royal Collections*



72. J. van Cleve. Portrait of Francis I of France. Philadelphia, Pa., John G. Johnson Collection





72 a | 72 b

72 d | 72 c

72 a. J. van Cleve (?). Portrait of Francis I of France. *St. Louis, Mo., City Art Museum of Saint Louis*. 72 b. J. van Cleve(?). Portrait of Francis I of France. *Cincinnati, Ohio, Art Museum*. 72 d. J. van Cleve, copy. Portrait of Francis I of France. *Fontainebleau, Musée National (on loan from the Musée du Louvre, Paris)*. 72 c. J. van Cleve, copy. Portrait of Francis I of France. *New York, Mr. A.A. Houghton Jr. collection*



74 | 75

74. J. van Cleve. *Portrait of a Man*. Cambridge, Mass., Busch-Reisinger Museum, Harvard University. 75. J. van Cleve. *Portrait of a Man*. Location unknown



$\frac{76 | 77}{78}$

76. J. van Cleve. Portrait of a Man. *Location unknown.* 77. J. van Cleve (?). Portrait of a Man. *Location unknown.* 78. J. van Cleve. Portrait of a Man. *Petworth, National Trust, Lord Leconfield collection*



79. J. van Cleve. Portrait of a Young Man. Florence, Galleria degli Uffizi





80. J. van Cleve. Portrait of a Man. *Vaduz, Sammlungen des Regierenden Fürsten von Liechtenstein*



81. J. van Cleve. Portrait of a Man. *Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen*





82 | 83  
83 a

82. J. van Cleve. Portrait of a Young Man. *Location unknown*. 83. J. van Cleve. Portrait of a Young Man. *Amsterdam, Mrs. H.A. Wetzlar collection*. 83 a. J. van Cleve, copy. Portrait of a Young Man. *Location unknown*

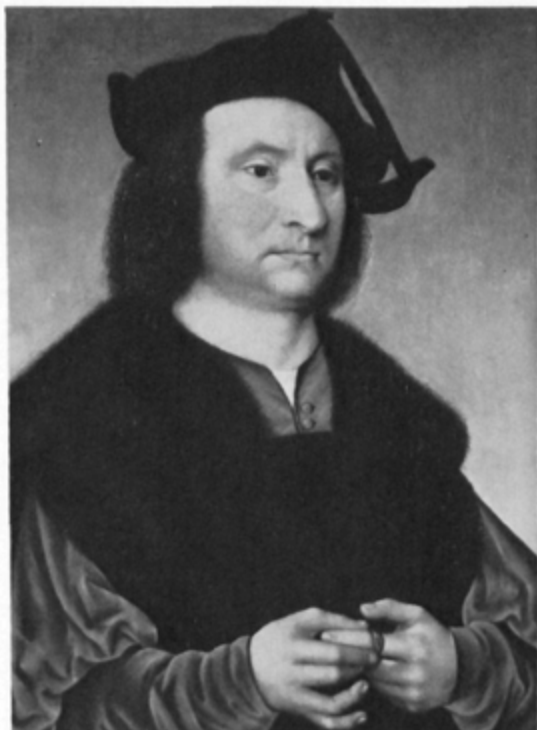


84 | 84 a

84. J. van Cleve. Portrait of a Man. Cassel, *Staatliche Kunstsammlungen*. 84 a. J. van Cleve, copy. Portrait of a Man. Hanover, *Niedersächsisches Landesmuseum*



85. J. van Cleve. Portrait of a Boy. *Location unknown*



86 a | 87

88

86 a. J. van Cleve, copy ?. Portrait of a Man. Brussels, Mrs. J. van der Veken collection. 87. J. van Cleve. Portrait of a Man. The Hague, Koninklijk Kabinet van Schilderijen, Mauritshuis on loan from The Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam. 88. J. van Cleve. Portrait of a Man. Petworth, National Trust, Lord Leconfield collection



89 | 89 a

89. J. van Cleve. Portrait of an Elderly Man. *Madrid, Museo del Prado*. 89 a. J. van Cleve, copy. Portrait of an Elderly Man. *Location unknown*





90. J. van Cleve. Portrait of a Man. Berlin-Dahlem, Gemäldegalerie der Staatlichen Museen





91 |  $\frac{91\text{ a}}{91\text{ b}}$

91. J. van Cleve. Portrait of a Man. *Raveningham, Norfolk, Sir Edmund Bacon collection.* 91 a. J. van Cleve (?). Portrait of a Man. *Location unknown.* 91 b. J. van Cleve, copy. Portrait of a Man. *Location unknown*



92 | 93  
96

92. J. van Cleve. Portrait of an Elderly Man. *Location unknown.* 93. J. van Cleve. Portrait of a Man. *Wassenaar (Netherlands), Private collection.* 96. J. van Cleve. Portrait of a Man. *Pisa, Museo Nazionale di San Matteo*



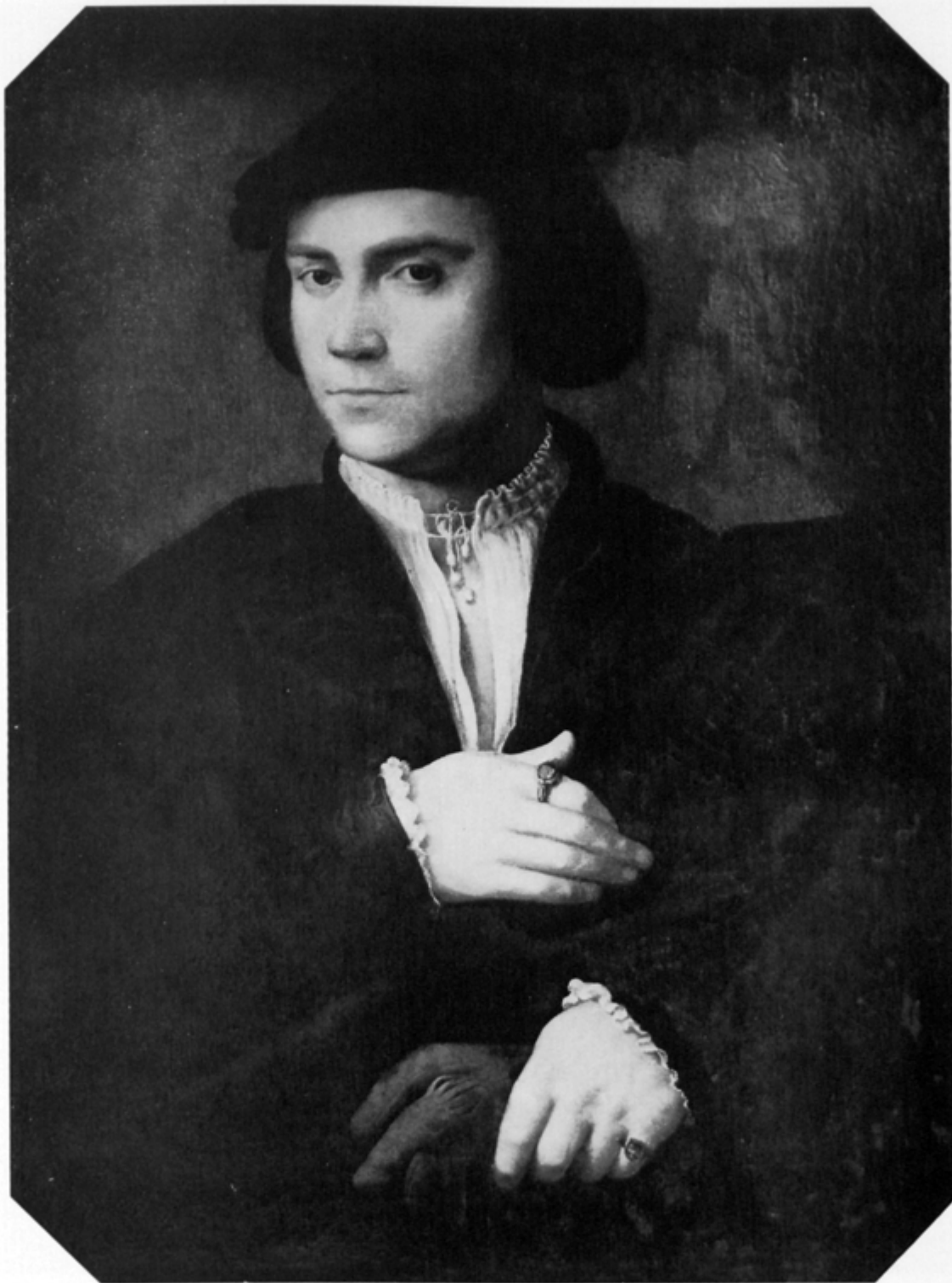
94. J. van Cleve. Portrait of a Man. Lyons, Musée des Beaux-Arts



99 | 95  
| 97

99. J. van Cleve. Portrait of a Man. *Location unknown.* 95. J. van Cleve. Portrait of a Boy. Northampton, Mass., Smith College Museum of Art. 97. J. van Cleve. Portrait of a Man. *Location unknown*





98. J. van Cleve. Portrait of a Man. Nantes, *Musée des Beaux-Arts*



100 | 100 a

100. J. van Cleve. Portrait of a Man. *Location unknown.* 100 a. J. van Cleve, copy. Portrait of a Man. *Location unknown*





Plate  
III



101 | 102

103 | 104

101. J. van Cleve. Portrait of a Man. *Paris, Musée du Louvre.* 102. J. van Cleve. Portrait of a Man. *Location unknown.* 103. J. van Cleve. Portrait of a Very Young Man. *Location unknown.* 104. J. van Cleve. Portrait of a Bearded Man. *Location unknown*



105 | 106

107

105. J. van Cleve. Portrait of a Man. *Location unknown*. 106. J. van Cleve. Portrait of a Man. *Strasbourg, Musée des Beaux-Arts*. 107. J. van Cleve. Portrait of a Man. *Location unknown*



108 a. J. van Cleve. Portrait of Eleonore of France. *Hampton Court, Royal Collections*



108 b. J. van Cleve. Portrait of Eleonore of France. Vienna, Kunsthistorisches Museum





108 c | 108 d  
108 f | 108 g | 108 h

108 c. J. van Cleve (?). Portrait of Eleonore of France. *Lisbon, Museu Nacional de Arte Antiga.* 108 d. J. van Cleve, copy. Portrait of Eleonore of France. *Madrid, Museo Lázaro-Galdiano.* 108 f. J. van Cleve, copy. Portrait of Eleonore of France. *Cincinnati, Ohio, Art Museum.* 108 g. J. van Cleve, copy. Portrait of Eleonore of France. *Chantilly, Musée Condé.* 108 h. J. van Cleve, copy. Portrait of Eleonore of France. *Location unknown*



109 a | 109 b

110 | 111

109 a. J. van Cleve (?). Portrait of Mencía Mendoza. *Location unknown*. 109 b. J. van Cleve (?). Portrait of Mencía Mendoza. *Chantilly, Musée Condé*. 110. J. van Cleve (?). Portrait of a Noble Lady. *Location unknown*. 111. J. van Cleve, copy. Portrait of a Woman. *Antwerp, Museum Mayer van den Bergh*





Plate  
117



113 | 112  
114

113. J. van Cleve. Portrait of a Woman. Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek. 112. J. van Cleve. Portrait of a Woman. Location unknown. 114. J. van Cleve. Portrait of a Woman. Rothesay, Isle of Bute, Scotland, Marquess of Bute collection



114 a | A  
| B

114 a. J. van Cleve, *Portrait of a Woman*. *Location unknown*. A. Barthel Bruyn after J. van Cleve, *Portrait of a Woman*. Nuremberg, *Germanisches Nationalmuseum* (see p. 36). B. After Leonardo da Vinci, *Portrait of a Woman*. Chantilly, *Musée Condé* (see p. 35)



115. J. van Cleve. Portrait of a Couple. *Enschede, Rijksmuseum Twenthe*



116. J. van Cleve. Portraits of a Couple. *Toledo, Ohio, Museum of Art*





116. J. van Cleve. Portraits of a Couple. *Toledo, Ohio, Museum of Art*



117. J. van Cleve. Portraits of a Couple. *Washington, D.C., National Gallery of Art, A.W. Mellon Fund*





117. J. van Cleve. Portraits of a Couple. *Washington, D. C., National Gallery of Art, A. W. Mellon Fund*



116 a | 117 a  
116 b |

116 a. J. van Cleve, copy. Portrait of a Man. Philadelphia, Pa., John G. Johnson Collection. 116 b. J. van Cleve, copy. Portrait of a Woman. Location unknown. 117 a. J. van Cleve, copy. Portrait of a Man. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum





119. J. van Cleve. Portraits of a Couple. Cassel, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen



119. J. van Cleve. Portraits of a Couple. Cassel, *Staatliche Kunstsammlungen*





120 | 120

A | B

120. J. van Cleve. Portrait of a Couple. *Hampton Court, Royal Collections*. A. Portrait of Jan Joest. Engraving from *K. van Mander, Schildersportretten*, 1764, Part I, p. 105, detail. B. Portrait of Joos van Cleve. Engraving from *D. Lampsonius "Pictorum Aliquot... Effigies"*. Antwerp, 1572. (see p. 18)





C. 1  
C. 2

C. 1. C. van Cleve. The Adoration of the Christ Child. *Dresden, Staatliche Kunstsammlungen*. C. 2. C. van Cleve. An Allegory, Venus between two Couples. *Location unknown*



c. 8. C. van Cleve. The Adoration of the Magi. Antwerp, Koninklijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten



C. 5 | C. 9  
C. 10 | C. 11 | C. 12

C. 5. C. van Cleve. *Virgin and Child*. *Location unknown*. C. 9. C. van Cleve. *Virgin and Child*. *Bruges, Stedelijk Museum voor Schone Kunsten (Groeninge Museum)*. C. 10. C. van Cleve. *Virgin and Child*. *Philadelphia, Pa., John G. Johnson Collection*. C. 11. C. van Cleve. *Virgin and Child*. *Berlin (East), Staatliche Museen (Bode Museum)*. C. 12. C. van Cleve. *Virgin and Child*. *Antwerp, Church of St. James*



C. 13 | C. 14

c. 13. C. van Cleve. *The Adoration of the Magi*. Leningrad, *The Hermitage*. c. 14. C. van Cleve. *Joseph and Potiphar's Wife*. Location unknown





C. 15 | C. 16  
C. 18

c. 15. C. van Cleve. *The Lamentation*. *Location unknown*. c. 16. C. van Cleve. *Virgin and Child*. *The Hague, Thurkow collection*. c. 18. C. van Cleve. *Leda and the Swan*. *Location unknown*



C. 22 | C. 24

C. 27

c. 22. C. van Cleve. Virgin and Child. *Munich, Bayerische Staatsgemäldesammlungen, Alte Pinakothek.*

c. 24. C. van Cleve. The Adoration of the Christ Child. *Sarasota, Florida, J. and M. Ringling Museum of Art.*

c. 27. C. van Cleve. Portrait of a Woman. *Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum*





c. 25 | c. 28  
c. 26

c. 25. C. van Cleve. The Adoration of the Shepherds. *Hampton Court, Royal Collections.* c. 28. C. van Cleve. The Holy Family with Sts. Elisabeth and John. *Location unknown.* c. 26. C. van Cleve. The Virgin Mourning over the Body of Christ. *Location unknown*

## Early Netherlandish Painting

This new edition of Friedländer's monumental work 'Die Altniederländische Malerei' is based on the following principles: Friedländer's text stands unchanged in English translation. The catalogues are brought up-to-date, especially in respect of the location of the paintings. The total of 1260 illustrations in the original edition has been brought up to more than 3600. Concise editorial comments on recent research and notes on the individual works are placed at the end of each volume. An index completes each volume, and in addition a general index covering the whole of the 14 volumes will be incorporated in Volume xiv.

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